THE PROCESS AND THE EFFECTS OF MODERNIZATION IN INDIAN RURAL COMMUNITIES

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INTRODUCTION

There is abundant literature on social change in general, but there is a dearth of full or comprehensive literature on the subject of modernization in its full perspective. It becomes essential to analyse the different dimensions of modernization, particularly the processes and consequences of modernization, both in tribal and rural communities. This book seeks to fulfil this objective. An effort has been made in this book to focus attention on all the disciplines concerned. Social scientists, professors and administrators, who are closely associated with rural development programmes, have contributed research papers for this book. Theoretical aspects of modernization and the various trends in social changes in rural communities are discussed in the first part of the book. The second part deals with the modernization process in the various aspects of rural and tribal communities. Agriculture, Demography, Rural Industries, Role of Farm Women, Rural Leadership, Child Health, Adult Education and Voluntary Agencies are major subject areas covered in this book.

Social Scientists hold different views on the very concept of modernization. Sociologists consider modernization as a change in the social system for progress; whereas the Psychologists view it in terms of individual modernity. Attitudinal and behavioural modernity becomes very important in modernization. Cultural Anthropologists view the modernization process as a form of cultural change in response to both internal and external forces. Economists view it as a process essentially involving adopting newer techniques and greater production. Whatever the concept may be, the mass media, planned programmes of social change and reform movements are the important factors that help the forward movement of modernization. Voluntary institutions also play a vital role in generating changes in society. Community Development programmes and Panchayati Raj institutions do play a constructive role in fostering the emergence of new rural leadership. The Community Development Programmes are responsible for the enhancement of social welfare and increased agricultural production. Increasing mechanization has led to intensification of agriculture and modernization of values and attitudes of the farmers. But it has not helped the landless agricultural workers in that it has not led to appreciable improvement in their lives. On the positive side, infant mortality has declined; age of marriage has risen and the use of contraceptives is becoming more widespread. The small family norm has got the group acceptance. The village community is getting modernized because of its exposure to various types of innovations.

The process and effects of modernization are not uniform among the various individuals and groups. Rural social and economic systems are modified. The bonds of kinship and neighbourhood relationship are in the process of change. Small market towns have emerged because of improved transport systems. There is increasing migration towards urban areas.

On the otherhand there is no remarkable change in the social status of rural women in the family and community, inspite of their increased role in productive operations. The adult education programmes have not yielded the expected results. The rural industries sector faces the main problem of marketing. "The appropriate technology"— i.e., integrated developmental planning approach--provides the hope for their betterment. The development efforts have to be planned in a systematic manner to suit the local needs. The involvement of the local community and the effective implementation of development programmes only will result in better progress of rural society.

The sensitive part of an author's Introduction is really that which deals with acknowledgements. This book is the result of the commitment and co-operative effort of several scholars. First and foremost, I must express my grateful thanks to Prof.V.I.Subramoniam, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the Tamil University, without whose inspiration and encouragement, this book could not have been published. A special word of thanks from me goes to State Bank of India, particularly the staff of the Thanjavur Branch, for its crucial endowment for the creation of the Department to fulfil its multifarious functions. It has been an experience to me to undertake the editing of the script of this book, along with Mr.V.Perampalam, Associate Editor of the Publications Department of the Tamil University. I thank him for his help. I wish to express my appreciation to the personnel of the publications Department and the Press of Tamil University, for their unfailing co-operation.

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S.S.THEKKAMALAI

PART I

1. MODERNIZATION: A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

S.S.Thekkamalai

Modernization is the current term for an old process--the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. The process is activated by international or intersocietal communication. We have various definitions of modernization since social scientists approached this from various perspectives. Moore (1963) defined Modernization as economic development of Industrialization. Black (1966) treats this as increase in man's knowledge which is the result of scientific advancement. Halpern (1965) considers modernization as increasing change with the potential for further change and adaptations. Individual modernity is associated with the ability of a person to accept and adapt changes. It denotes the better adjustment of a person with the changing social environment.

Lerner (1964) sees the process of modernization in terms of urbanisation, literacy, media participation and political participation. David Reisman (1964) writes that modernity is an attempt to solve the problems of poverty and misery. Changes are the observable transformations in social relationship. It is inevitable. The concept of modernization is very ambiguous. Sharma and Nandy consider modernization as a kind of functional rationality which is applied in the social processes. It has the relationship with the past coupled with the creative attitude to the dynamic future. So it is wrong to consider that modernity and tradition are quite opposite to each other. So, some sociologists prefer to use the concept of transitionality. Secularization is an important aspect of modernization. It is wrong to identify this with westernization.

Modernization is a total transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into an advanced society with improved technology, state political system and effective social organizations. It is a continuum. It may start in a variety of ways or in various aspects of social structure. It may operate inconsistently or several of them may operate simultaneously. Generally, modernization is oriented in terms of socio-cultural transformations characteristic of the kind of development that results from the factors of Industrialization. It is difficult to separate the strands of traditionalism from modernity. Modernization is also considered in terms of development. "Development is a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capita incomes and levels of living through more modern production methods and improved social organization. Improved techniques, better standard of living and new associations are some of the indices of modernization. Socio-Economic changes have resulted in modernizing some aspects of village social life. When we examine the process, the rate of modernization is not even in all aspects of rural life. The political and the economic aspects of rural life are more under the influence of modernization. Institutional modernization is the process whereby a contemporary society improves its control of the environment by means of an increasingly competent technology. This process is a continuous and unidirectional one. To measure the rate of institutional modernization quantitative measures have to be devised.

The above discussions consider only the positive aspects of modernization and do not give importance for the negative aspects of modernization. The negative aspects of modernization deal with the individual and social problems resulting from the process of development. So it becomes necessary to pay attention to the implications of these negative effects on both the modern and the non-modern individual in the developing society.

Modernization is a process of change or growth in two ways of perceiving, expressing applied at any level of aggregation from the individual through community and the nation. The study of modernization could be approached in two ways. It could be from the institutional approach i.e. studying the changes in ways of organizing and doing. The individual approach to modernization includes the socio-psychological aspects like ways of thinking, evaluating and behaving. So the attitudinal modernity and the behavioural modernity become very important.

Inkeles (1969) lists out the characteristics of individual modernity which form a syndrome:

1) Openness to new experience
2) Assertion of Individual Freedom from Traditional authorities
3) Belief in Science and Medicine
4) Mobility Aspiration
5) Interest in civic and community affair
6) Clearer planning and timing
7) Interest in knowing the news

Indicators of Community modernization of development:

1) Degree of urbanization
2) Literacy rates and vocational training; Newspaper circulation
3) Political democracy (as measured by the existence of a multi-party system and the regular executive Transfer through secret ballot elections)
4) Free enterprise
5) Secularisation (that is institutionalisation of 'rationality' as the dominant behavioural norm)
6) Degree of social mobility
7) Occupational differentiation
8) Proliferation of voluntary associations including, for example trade unions, national unity (as opposed to ethnic and denominational factionalism)
9) Nuclear family patterns
10) Independent judiciaries

Modernization at the structural level denotes the following:

a) Urbanization
b) Literacy
c) Industrialization
d) Economic development

At the cultural analytical level, new social values and the general orientations permitting a society are to be taken up.

Sociologists are concerned with the two aspects of modernization: Structural characteristics and the adaptiveness of socio-cultural system. The structural characteristics are economic specialization, urbanization, the breakdown of ascriptive criteria and the opening of mobility through education. Also, the development of a highly differentiated political structure, the extension of politics to all walks

of life, the weakening of political controls of traditional elites, the spread of political participation, the differentiation of cultural and value systems and the growth of a wide spread communication form the other structural aspects.

Mass Media, planned programmes of social change, social reform movements, political parties, migration contact with other communities and modern education are the important factors of modernization. The process and the effects of modernization are not uniform among the individuals, groups and institutions.

The rate of modernization depends on the readiness and resources. People also differ in their opinions in considering the changes as modernization. The effect also need not be same for all individuals. There may be individual and collective stock. Economic changes may strengthen or dissolve relationship in family and kin groups.

The second aspect of modernization is the process of continuous growth and change through the development of a socio-cultural change and political system which generates continuous changes and developing the capacity to absorb the changes by the institutions. So this is concerned with the adaptiveness of socio-cultural systems. Sociologists give more importance for changes in the social structure that occur during modernization.

Three points are crucial to the analysis of modernization. "The first is that of modernization from a sociological view consists a process of proliferation in which the basic elements of all social systems, the roles and institutions, are rapidly increasing. The second point is that modernization is characterized by increasing formalization of institutional arrangements. The third is that there are significant differences between early and late modernizers". Proliferation represents a process of differentiation whereby roles and institutions under continual specialization and govern limited aspects of activity.

Several village studies deal with the role of community development and *panchayat* schemes in changing the rural community. Most of them have to be treated as the conventional studies of social change as they deal mainly with the economic and political changes at the community level. We have only a few studies covering all aspects of modernization.

According to Dube, modernization involves the emergence of a new behavioural Health and Family Planning System with certain distinctive characteristics. Value changes and institutional rearrangements are the essential features of modernization. The institutional structure should be a dynamic one to absorb the various social changes which are associated with modernization.

Bryce F.Ryan (1970) studied the modernization of Sinhalese village. He analysed the developmental and modernizing changes which occurred during a period of two decades. He considered the changes in social values, social organization, amenities and work ethic. He studied the institutions of family and marriage along with the caste system. He is able to project the important areas of modernization in a community. He also touched the important aspect i.e. the essential resources of modernization like education and communication.

Thus, we have discussed the different approaches to modernization and the related studies. The social scientists have the responsibility of approaching the problem of modernization in a more systematic way by applying the clear concepts of modernization.

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2. MODERNIZATION: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Jakka Parthasarathy

Cultural anthropologists, who formerly limited their research to the study of small, relatively homogeneous non-industrial cultures, have, during the past several decades, shifted their attention to the problems of complex societies, and in particular to the analysis of problems related to urbanism, urbanization, modernization, rural development, rural urban interaction pattern and social and cultural change under the impact of modernization. Anthropologists, in fact, realized to a greater extent that the ultimate prediction of human behaviour is possible only by studying 'change'. This paper attempts to understand the concept of culture, process of culture change and modernization through an anthropological knowledge. Cases related to rural communities which are under transformation or under continuity are also dealt with.

Anthropology is the newest of the social sciences, and since its inception in the 1860's it has largely been regarded as the study of the old, the exotic nature and unnoticeable elements of human life. There are three outstanding characteristics of anthropology as a discipline. In the first place, it is uncompromisingly and systematically comparative. A second outstanding characteristic of anthropology is its use of a holistic approach. Human behaviour is in fact very complex; the anthropologist uses whatever analytical tools seem appropriate to gain a complete understanding of a phenomenon. A third notable characteristic that distinguishes anthropology is its methodology. Anthropologists try to participate in the culture, to learn its components and sets, well enough to record objectively the culture they see. To an anthropologist, culture is something that every person takes part in.

The Concept of Culture

The use of the word culture, in its anthropological sense, was introduced to mean the whole way of life of a community. A thorough definition of culture has been given by Ralph Linton as follows: 'A culture is the configuration of learned behaviour, and the results of behaviour, whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society'. The word configuration suggests a sort of pattern. A culture pattern can be taken to mean the ways of behaviour associated with any permanent need or function in the social life. A few examples of culture patterns would be: religious practices, methods of doing trade, ways of drinking and eating which may differ from one society to another. Thus, the whole culture is a configuration of all its interacting culture patterns. The comparative study of the culture of human societies is the proper sphere of the subject of cultural anthropology. The results of such studies have many implications for those who are interested in knowing the impact of external or input forces on culture pattern.

Culture Change

Culture is in a state of constant change. People carry out their daily activities, changing in response to the seasons as well as to external forces. Different generations face different challenges and respond to them in ways that will alter the lives of their descendants. Discussions dealing with social or culture change are currently in vogue in Anthropological literature. This is perhaps due to the fact that in today's world certain societies are changing fast. No society is completely static and even the most stable of societies shows a tendency to change. Thus, anthropologists realized that the ultimate prediction of human behaviour is possible only by studying 'change'. In general, anthropologists have attempted to deal with the problem of studying change at three different levels: (1) the individual (2) social groups composing either parts of the whole of societies and (3) human society generally. Cultural change is the adoption of new modes of life by many individuals. The new way some times may not be integrated into the community's social structure which refers to cultural conservatism.

Society and culture change cannot be dissociated from each other and hence most theorists who have dealt with society have also had to touch upon the problem of culture change. The structural point of view had a considerable influence in British Social Anthropology and Radcliffe Brown

(1959:178-204) can be considered as one in this regard. According to him social structure is the network of social relationships which connect different members of a society. These social relationships are operative in the system groups like kinship, sex, rank, occupation, etc. If a society has to exist, it must have a certain degree of integration. This condition is, according to Radcliffe Brown, 'functional unity and internal consistency'. When social systems lack in this sort of consistency, conflicts arise and these have to be resolved. If these conflicts are resolved in such a fashion as to produce certain changes in the structure, culture change is the result.

Firth (1951) says that any theoretical framework for the analysis of culture or social change must be concerned with what happens to social structure and if it has to be truly dynamic it must allow for individual action. He says that "the essence of the dynamic process lies in the continuous operation of the individual psyche, with its potential of unsatisfied desires--for more security, more knowledge, more status, more power, more approval--within the Universe of its social system. The processes of culture change can take their indicative from within a society or they may be stimulated by external forces". Hence culture change can be the product of a number of factors like innovations, external and internal influences and contact--with a different way of life culminating in economic growth. Hence multiple factors can be responsible for producing change. The culture of the community plays a considerable role in the acceptance or rejection of change. A society which is tradition-bound generally has more difficulties in accepting new ideas and innovations. Certain societies are oriented in a particular fashion which allows them to accept new ways and ideas more readily than others. Technological change is always more easily accepted in a society than other types of changes like institutional change.

Modernization

M.N.Srinivas (1966) studying the changing Indian social scene has advanced the concepts of Sanskritization and Westernization to understand the working of certain processes in Indian rural society which produce social or cultural change. Sanskritization is a result of adjustments made within a given traditional hierarchical order. It is conceptualized as a process whereby there are positional changes in the hierarchy resulting in mobility. Westernization (Srinivas 1966) has been referred to as "an inclusive coverage of wide range from Western technology at one end to the experimental method of modern science and modern historiography

at the other". For him westernization is a clear term to understand 'modernization'.

S.C.Dube (1967) feels that modernization is "essentially a process--a movement from traditional or quasi-traditional order to certain desired types of technology and associated forms of social structure, value orientations and motivations and norms". He has listed some of the attributes of modernization from the works of a number of social scientists, which are as follows; Empathy; Mobility; High participation; Interest articulation; Interest aggregation; Institutionalized political competition; Achievement orientation; Rational ends means calculations; New attitudes to wealth, work saving and risk taking; Faith in the desirability and possibility of change; Social, economic and political discipline and capacity to put off immediate and short run satisfaction in the longer run.

Thus, culture change is a complex process and cannot be understood by any single formula accounting for change. Now let me describe a few case studies which were studied by me, through an anthropological field knowledge, for various research projects.

Case 1.

Paduvarahalli in Mysore

Amidst new and modern laidout localities in a city, one often comes across localities which give an impression of being rural and do not appear to fit into the urban complex. The present case study (J.Parthasarathy: 1984) is another example, which agrees with Redfield (1956) that a village can retain its traditional characteristics, even though it is engulfed in the city limits with urban modernization influence from all sides. Paduvarahalli is an old settlement in Mysore City. It was a village some 100 years back; but gradually lost its administrative status as a separate village during the process of the expansion of Mysore. At present it is surrounded by new layouts and industries. Notwithstanding the change in physical form, a cursory observation of the community living in Paduvarahalli still shows many features which are commonly seen in the Indian villages. The settlement pattern of Paduvarahalli is based on caste lines. As elsewhere in the rural areas, the notion of purity pollution along with occupational and ritual status, contributes towards the maintenance of the hierarchical structure. Land is the most important economic resource among certain groups. The traditional village Panchayat continues to exercise

its power and authority on the socio-economic, political and religious spheres of the settlement. The life in Paduvarahalli is intimately connected with various religious entities. The lack of economic transformation also explains the fact that the power and authority of the indigenous hereditary lineage elders have continued unabated. A few attempts to introduce modern institutions did not bring the desired results. Hospitals, communication, law and order etc., have not made any serious dent in their traditional value system. Thus it may be concluded that the life of the people living in Paduvarahalli is characteristically rural in style and value orientation, and that it does not show proper articulation with the vast complex and changing universe of the growing urban centre.

Case 2.

The Malasar of Tamilnadu

When Mr.V.K.Tandon and the author (1983) studied the Malasar of Tamilnadu for the national project 'Tribes in contemporary India' it was felt that the impact of modernization had proceeded to such an extent that the Malasars are completely on the new path. Malasars are mainly distributed in Pollachi taluk of Coimbatore district of Tamilnadu. They live essentially by working as forest labourers. They were and are used to catching and taming wild elephants. They also have multifarious economic pursuits. The co-operativeness that characterizes the activities of the Malasar people constitutes one of the most striking aspects of their pattern of economic life. The Tamilnadu Government started 'The Sarkarpathi Hill Tribes Co-operative Labour Contract Society' on 7th November, 1966. From this year, this modern economic institute has completely changed the life style of the Malasar community. Their forest based economy also started moving towards agriculture and also towards market economy. The breakdown of the extended family among the Malasars is apparent on the grounds that extended families were suited to the 'family unit forest food collection' but are dysfunctional under present conditions after the introduction of the Hill Tribes Labour Contract Co-operative Society. There is a lot of change in the political organization of the Malasar community. After the introduction of the co-operative society, the 'president' of the society, who is having the power of allotting the labour on daily wages or having the power of sanctioning loans to the Malasar members, became powerful Malasar non-tribal head and replaced the traditional head *Mooppan* in the minds of the youths of the community. In the beginning

it led to a conflict between the old and the young, but at last the old accepted the supremacy of the president of the society. Now a days, as we observed, the president of the society even decides the marriage or divorce disputes of the Malasars. We even find among them some awareness towards Government developmental schemes and outside social and economic exploitative forces.

Case 3.

The Yerukula of Andhra Pradesh

This study was done by the author (1982) for the research project "The Yerukula: an ethnographic study with special references to their adaptive strategy for subsistence". The total population of the Yerukula community in Andhra Pradesh is 1,62,560. They were a nomadic population and, like many other nomadic groups, they are also gradually settling down. The Yerukula are experts in making baskets and ropes, but they engage themselves in several other occupations. The common impression is that the Yerukula are congenital thieves and are kept under the strict surveillance of the police. The present study was focused on the Yerukula who inhabit remote villages as well as urbanized villages. The study found that the Yerukula of the urbanized villages have shown more interest in adopting many modernized institutions and are favourable towards complete culture change. Cultural changes are too apparent among them that they have identified themselves as caste groups instead of a tribe. At the same time, the Government's reservation policy has enabled them to claim scheduled tribe status to get Government benefits which also lead them towards 'change'.

Conclusion

Thus the above three cases reveal the fact that a few societies are conservative towards culture change, like the people of Paduvarahalli; but other societies are more open towards modernization like the Malasar of Tamilnadu and the Yerukula of Andhra Pradesh. There are a number of studies in India which show that the traditional village life is undergoing transformation. Some of the villages have become completely modern (Bailey 1958; M.S.A. Rao 1970, K.N.Sharma N.O.) and some others are in transition (Epstein 1962; Orenstein 1965; Subrahmanyam 1975; R.S.Mann 1979) and a few maintain the *status quo* (D.N.Majumdar 1958; Epstein 1962; P.K.Misra 1976). There have been diverse views among culture change theorists, especially in the case of unidimensionists. Anthropological theorists, accounting for

multidimensional factor approach to explain culture change through modernization are to a greater extent free of their view. The findings through the cases which are analysed, in the context of the study of the rural communities, provide scope for the development of a special explanation which hasresponses to cultural or social change theorists. Primarily, culture change is an outcome and product of the introduction of change orienting modern institutional network. The trend of modernization, however, played a significant role in the formation of the new set of relationships between the people and the communities. But at the same time, the negative effects of modernization, due to lack of future prediction or uncontrolled trend of management of the effects, have also been felt by the social scientists. In general, if we focus, it has now been established that over-exploitation of forest and other resources in the name of modernization, can bring about geo-political upheavals in the rural countries where population is growing fast and the people are indiscriminately exploiting nature's gift. After a good deal of analysis and study, world's leading social scientists and ecologists are now convinced that environmental degradation and severe effects of modernization are the key causes of violent human conflicts. The impact of industrial effluents on the ecology of the Cauvery river and on the communities who are living along the river, was a matter of serious concern expressed by the social scientists, recently, at the work-shop on Cauvery basin ecodevelopment organised by the Madras Science Foundation at Kodaikanal, Tamilnadu. Thus it is the role of the social scientists like anthropologists and sociologists to deal with the effects of modernization on rural communities by studying the causes and develop indigenous models of modernization which will not be biased in favour of one class but will have equity as its main thrust.

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3. SOCIAL CHANGE IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

R.Subramanian

The purpose of this short paper is two fold: first, to describe briefly the institutions and agencies at work in Rural India, as of whole of India; and second, to narrate the emerging network of changes that have been and are being generated in the rural society in interpersonal relationships, values and attitudes in consequence. The observations made here are not primarily related to a particular geographical rural area, though they are born of the author's experience in working with village people over the past several years, in one of the most progressive southern States in India, Tamil Nadu. Rural India knows no directional status, be it south or north, east or west.

India is a large and a heterogeneous sub-continent with a wide variety of culture and range of social systems that have, of late, been receiving the impact of economic changes, as a result of economic plans executed periodically since 1951. The Indian economic organization was for several centuries a handmaid of its social framework characterized by differences in caste, language, culture and religion and hence a variety of social institutions performed both economic and non-economic functions.

To illustrate, the caste system was built primarily around agricultural production and it exerted control over production and possession of land, when it came to be structured, with the passage of time, on the basis of a rank order that decided the status of the individual in the social hierarchy. The caste structure has close linkage with village economies. It is documented knowledge that it had established a classical system of relations among castes in a village through the *Jajmani System* often described in terms of: "The various non-cultivating castes provided specialised

services for the cultivators and received food stuffs in return. The economic interdependence is strictly regulated by social and religious patterns which keep the caste groups segregated in certain respects and at the same time require communication and interchange in other respects. Caste ranking and economic status were, and for many villages still are, closely linked. The not unplentiful exceptions, say of Brahmin labourers and even beggars, or Maharajas of lowly caste origins, should not obscure the fact that the families of higher castes in a village usually have also a higher standard of food and housing. Caste rank is particularly manifest through ritual symbols" (Srinivas: 1969;17). Here is a kind of hereditary relationship developed between the owners of land and their dependents. This had strengthened the bond of relationship between the owners of land and the members of non-cultivating castes. This relationship has given security of life and tenure to the lower level incumbents. Thus, rural India became socially set and traditionally accepted as a social heritage by the rural people, not for too long, though. Because new agents of change soon appeared on the rural scenario; development occurred. With the result, that in every stage of economic development. both social and economic factors became intermingled and the traditional system in that process got equally disturbed.

The new agents of change in India have been the statutory abolition of Zamindari and Inam lands, fixation anew of the conditions of tenancy, increase in the power of the panchayats and recruitment of members to them through elections and the introduction of community development projects and agricultural extension services, improvement in transport and communications and the opening up of the rural communities to modern means of spatial mobility. Modern means of transport and communication are fast improving and increasing. The occupational pattern has been changing with the large scale adoption of new farm and post-harvest technology over since the 'green revolution'. The introduction of democracy has provided young men opportunities to assert themselves against elders and tradition.

I

The core of rural India is found in its nearly 570 thousand villages, where about 76 per cent (1981) of the total population of approximately 684 million (1981) live. Agriculture continues to be their mainstay as of old and is the major source of income and employment even today. Preponderance of agriculture for a living has given rise to certain organizations and pattern of values which pervade every segment

of the rural society. Since 1951, overall economic growth and development was sought to be achieved by means of a series of economic plans called the Five Year Plans; in that series, the Seventh Five Year Plan is in the offing today; side by side, land reforms were also introduced in the economy at different times with varying results. Besides, other programmes were planned and directed towards the development of certain attitudes and concepts among the rural folks so that they could recreate village life with governmental assistance.

With this, in view, an intensive many-sided movement for community organization and development was started in 1952 which spread all over India by 1968. In the beginning, community development was conceived as a method, and national extension services the agency through which the First Five Year Plan initiated the process of transforming the social and economic life style of the rural people. The central theme of Community Development Programme has been to change the rural folks from old tradition to modernity and to make them worthy of their existence.

Community Development Programmes were mostly target-oriented and they tended to create a net-work of bureaucratic set up that did not ultimately generate the originally desired changes without promoting the crucial elements of change, namely, self-reliance and co-operative action on the part of the people; so a new type of institution for decentralized planning, namely, Panchayati Raj for bettering peoples' participation through their elected representatives, with its three-tier system consisting of the Village Panchayat (Council), Panchayat Union (the members to which are elected by the local people) and the District Development Council at the District level was introduced in 1959. The major objective of Panchayati Raj is to grant recognition of the inter-connections between rural development effort and popular support.

Panchayati Raj institutions have been involved in programme planning, in the supply and distribution of agricultural inputs, farm equipments (such as tractors, sprayers, pumps. etc.,), construction of tanks, small embankments and other minor irrigation works. Also, they established schools and primary health centres; constructed roads and provided drinking water supplies and encouraged the use of new agricultural practices through demonstrations.

The Survey of Awareness of Community Development in Village India (1966) carried out by the National Institute

of Community Development heralded Panchayati Raj as "the system of decentralised democracy (that) had fostered the emergence of new leadership in the rural areas and that the elected representatives were generally better than old traditional leaders. Social welfare and increased agricultural production were the most important purposes served by Panchyati Raj" (Memoria: 1972: 871).

No doubt under favourable conditions Panchayati Raj institutions have encouraged the intelligence, self-reliance, initiative and social sense of freeness by placing the ultimate responsibility for government on the citizens themselves. Panchayati Raj ensures equal participation and consideration for all and thus makes for a just social order.

However, findings of the reviews and studies underaken subsequently have noted that the Panchayati Raj system has yet to succeed and could be made more effective. This presupposes continuity in this rural political institution and its working that has now-a-days been broken and diluted. But today the democratic process that could generate social and economic changes appears to have been hamstrung.

Along with Panchayati Raj, co-operative institutions come up on the village scene to institutionalise the necessary input facilities for farmers of the area. Also, primary school children in the ages 6-11 appeared in rural areas. Rural development programmes for improved sanitation and water supply to the villages, better nutrition, health services and medical care through the establishment of Primary Health Centres, which promoted family planning activities as well including group acceptance of small family norm and the like, were implemented one by one in thousands of villages. Again, about 50 per cent of the villages have been covered by electricity and the village irrigation sources have come to be fitted with pumpsets for lifting water. All this happened under the hegemony of these rural social and economic institutions. Thus the major institutions that worked on the basis of democratic decentralization were (and continue to be) the Panchayat, the Village School and the Co-operative. Apart from these, in 1962, an Intensive Agricultural Development Programme (IADP) was founded in 16 districts all over India in order to bring new farming technology along with its required inputs as a package deal to the farmer. Of late 'Green Revolution' which has increased agricultural productivity through the use of large amounts fertilizers, High Yielding Varieties of seeds, etc., has come to be localised in certain areas in south and north India. In the recent

past small Farmer Development Agencies have been instituted for providing assistance to small and marginal farmers whose concern is both wet and dry farming. Small Industries Development Programmes are at work today in rural India, though to a limited extent. In the Sixth Five Year Plan priority is given to the development of the small farmer and the small industrialist (entrepreneur). The late Prime Minister Smt.Indira Gandhi, has taken special interest in the uplift of the weaker sections of society by launching a new Twenty Point Economic Programme and the Integrated Rural Development Programme which aim at the lifting of the poorest of the poor, above the poverty line. The impact of these programmes on the target groups has been in the direction of creating productive employment opportunities and generating additional income among them that has gone into the fulfilment of their basic needs and skill-formation, even though the programme implementation has its own lacunae and bristles with avoidable drawbacks. Yet the process of economic change has set in among the target groups.

II

Thus, there has been a considerable amount of planned economic change in rural India which is associated with the creating of new agencies and types of organizations; but they have been implanted in the traditional soil that has a characteristic pattern of values different from those that support and sustain the changes that occur or have occurred in rural social set up. These changes in social institutions and values and interpersonal relationship have been qualitative in character and appear to be more of the nature of a spread rather than cumulative and unidirectional.

In the past, the results of the development programme in the fields of transportation and communication, in the spread of western education, in the frequent switch from subsistence crops to cash crops have all had consequences on village caste relations, with the exception of the criteria of ritual rank that did not greatly change the eating of meat and the performance of menial services among the lower ranks; and ritual rank remained as a main concern in the village.

As the newer development programmes took effect, there often was some levelling of economic differences among the villagers. The less high castes, newly advantaged, jockey for higher ritual rank and may attempt to use their new political franchise to gain both economic and ritual prerogatives for their caste.

One exception to the levelling effect of the newer development programmes must be noted. Of the lowest castes those who are mainly landless labourers, often gain nothing at all from the irrigation projects and the redistribution of land. They have nothing to begin with, nothing which can be improved; no means of getting an economic start and so they remain economically as well as socially disadvantaged. It is precisely for them that the IRD Programmes are being put into operation today. Yet the gap between them and the other well-to-do villagers frequently widens rather than diminishes on account of development projects.

The changing nature of caste seems to have effects on village social life, social organization and agricultural output. Now social and economic systems are being modified though they are still closely connected: changes in one may accelerate changes in the other. Thus the *jajmani* system of traditional personal exchange relations has been replaced by contractual, impersonal, pecuniary relations. Many cultivators who could summon sudden aid, if quickly needed, from among their traditional associates of other castes, now can hire labour if they have the cash. This process is a familiar one and has been going on in India for a century or more. But in recent years the full effect of its change is being widely felt.

One effect of this change on the lowest castes is to cut them adrift from the other villagers of great rank and wealth on whom they could depend during lean months. Now the lowest caste men tend to have no such support, save when they are hired by the day, and they can only look to each other for group strength. This strength is beginning to be mobilized not by the poorest and the most parochial but by those among them who have seen something of the world outside the village and have drawn motivation as well as material advantage from that experience. As the rights and obligations of the village caste to another tend to lapse, so does the whole village drift away from the ceremonial order within which reciprocal patterns were organised and reinforced.

Thus, social changes are more discernible in the wake of agricultural development and the new institutions organizations, the proper functioning of which calls for a new set of values different from those of the traditional agriculture. Hence, what follows as a description of the pattern of social

changes that have followed the Governmental efforts towards extending modern farm practices in rural areas among rural communities.

The IRDP and the Green Revolution have created a new class of farmers, namely the Progressive Farmers, and have indirectly induced a similar group outside their operational field, mostly independent of them. Such a showing up of a new group of farmers in the rural scene today has been accompanied by increased wealth shared by them, besides controlling of land whose size they could increase either by new purchases for possession or taking extra lands on lease. They are better placed in economic status and can capitalize agriculture at will since they seem to possess concentration of agricultural capital. In the olden days, economic inequality led to social inequality too, because the former rested on the ownership of land and its control in rural areas. But with the emergence of the progressive farmers who own small farms and who are poised for greater ownership if they liked, the social and economic inequalities between classess have tended to increase; in relation to bigger farmers, it is interesting to picturize the position of the small progressive farmers. They did not appear to be disadvantaged wherever facilities for adequate water supply and availability of the necessary inputs are assured, in spite of variations in income and mode of living that they adopt on receipt of new riches; this once again compounds their economic inequality; all this permits them to have some amount of social and economic mobility unlike in the case of incumbents of traditional hierarchical structure that had prescribed well-defined boundaries for movement.

As wealth increased among the progressive farmers, they began to look at successful farming in terms of certain resource use, other than mere possession of land, such as the use of tractors, pumpsets, power drillers, power threshers and winnowers, and the like; they acquired knowledge, skill and experience in their proper use and established communication and work-relationship with their peers of diverse backgrounds. This resulted in the lowering of the boundaries of the rigid social structure, and attracted farmers from different caste groups and social strata like retired people belonging to the civil and military services, lawyers, doctors, etc., who formed a group of gentlemen farmers. Some of these new entrants into better farming smashed caste barriers, possessed experience in industry and commerce and were prepared to invest large amounts of capital in agriculture and, along with it imported the modern forms of management

and organisation. Thus a tendency to combine agriculture with industry has emerged especially in the villages in the rural urban-fringe. Gradually they come to treat agriculture as a commercial enterprise capable of producing a surplus which can find its way into diversified investments; the typically traditional system of agriculture in such contexts receives a welcome jolt and dynamism from their diverse social origins, as also active participation in many interested areas allied to agriculture and industry; equally, such an attitude promotes easy internal mobility between themselves that is portent of sparking off cumulative changes from within the social system.

Certain changes in the personal relationship between the small landholders who are engaged in greater agricultural production and the agricultural labourers can be noticed. While progressive farming with its economic concomitant might pass on the benefits to farm labourers in the form of higher wages (which is seldom seen as a voluntary action), if they are under the protective umbrella of a politically dominated Trade Union, as it is happening in one of the districts in a southern state (Kerala), or by creating a demand for them by fending their way into extra agricultural ventures for work in the tertiary industries. The greater social distance between these two groups tends to be reduced at least outwardly and the old ties give way to a new bond of relationship which is more contractual and impersonal in nature.

Another area where the pattern of individual-institutional relationship and personal ties and loyalties is recast is where the old social system and the new organizational system meet and intermingle. In the past, the villages enjoyed a high degree of tranquillity and stability; the multiplex social relationship and the economic arrangement were tied in with caste, kinship and neighbourhood and were marked by high social value and close interpersonal affinity; bonds of kinship and locality were considered to be of paramount importance and thereby highly localized.

III

The Indian village is a unity in several senses of the term. It is firstly a physical unity. If the monsoon fails it fails for everyone. Formerly, when there was an attack of cholera or plague or small pox, the entire village acted as one, and moved away to different places. They all joined together to propitiate the deities 'presiding' over these diseases. The killer disease was 'ritually' driven out of the village.

Village solidarity and oneness were expressive of the idea of belonging to one's own village that was manifest

during times of danger to the whole village. This can be understood from *Srinivas's* narration of an incident which took place in the village Rampura (Mysore) during one of his visits there. He observed: "there was a striking demonstration of village unity during this stay. The Government suddenly passed an order to the effect that henceforward fishing rights in tanks all over the state would be sold by auction. When Rampura people learned of it, their spontaneous reaction was 'what right has the Government to auction fishing rights in our tanks?'.The Government was, according to them, encroaching on something that belonged to them. (It must be mentioned here that in Rampura, once every year, during the height of summer, when water is at the lowest, the headman and elders organise a fishing expediton. At night by moonlight, most of the adults go with fishing baskets to the tank and catch fish. Next day there is a feast in every house). On the day fixed for auction, the villagers saw to it that nobody in the village or from any of the neighbouring villages was there to bid. The visiting Government official had to return without an auction (Srinivas 1969: 25). In some of the southern districts of Tamilnadu, villagers had repeated the same story, but in differing contexts and locales.

The same nature of village unity is found when there is fighting between two villages. Therefore the individual's social world is a criss-cross of kinship, caste and community.

Over the past two decades or so, travel facilities and communication by either motor road or rail road (since most of the villages in the southern states are linked either by all-seasonal roads or jeepable roads) have increased especially with the emergence of small market towns which form the nucleus of future growth centres, hindlinking a large circle of villages.

This has increased spatial mobility to the nearest towns and urban areas, with the result that families and kinship groups get pushed out from their native locations and bulge in groups in the pulling centres in search of occupations. This process of rural push and urban pull has become an inevitable element in urban-fringe villages and an aspect of the villagers' life. Once they find their way into urban life and of course once they change their work they are urbanized. Urbanization as a way of life is not confined to cities and towns alone, although it emerges from the great metropolitan centres. It is a way of behaviour which means one can be very urban in one's thinking and conduct, although one lives in a village. However, it cannot be denied that urbanization is a way of life that tends to find its extreme forms in cities. The urbanized man remains oriented in the crowd. He is

not disturbed by the coming and going of people. Understanding the transient nature of the relationships, he easily makes new acquaintances forgetting the old ones. His relations are marked by superficiality. No doubt, the individual gains on the one hand, a certain degree of emancipation, of freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups; he loses on the other hand, the spontaneous self-expression, the morale and the sense of participation that come with living in an integrated society. These in turn have affected cohesiveness of community and a decline of the interaction between different groups in the village; but then, this new relationship continues to be rooted in personal ties. Though the villager learns about the life style in the urban world, and wants to be expressive of this individualism, he is bogged down by traditional obligations and loyalties; inspite of spatial interaction with several communities beyond his 'small world', that brings him into contact with other persons and officials, he approaches officials not in impersonal terms but through his relatives or neighbours or other known informants. Thus one sees the traditional social system still extant on the strength of kinship, caste and community highlighted by personal ties and loyalties and dependence.

Against this backdrop has taken place an unprecedented expansion of new administrative organization, thanks to Community Development Program implementation, the IADP districts, co-operatives through which proposals for economic and social reconstruction are carried out etc., the urban bureaucratic organization with its rules and conduct and recruitment was transferred to rural areas only to send out *ripples of changes again in traditional pool of social relationships*; it moved differently in the midst of people who are mostly illiterate and to whom the rules and regulations with their own value framework have remained a closed book; hence often times the new administrative norms have worked to the disadvantage of the illiterates and the uninformed; the nexus of relationship is mostly impersonal in this type of innovative social arrangement that has shaped a second social system with its values, and standards built around a set of organization.

The intermingling of these two systems in the rural areas has produced certain discernible changes in respect of recruitment to the new bureaucratic set up; selection is based on caste and community most often at all levels, but at the lower levels it is influenced by factors like kinship ties and personal dependence. Rural people have come to

hold patronage and rate themselves as status-high in relation to others in their community if they succeed in getting a patron's favour in making appoinments, because such relations are valued in themselves. Patronage flourished in the selection and promotion of officials too, or in finding a job for an individual, though it must be said that it did not underpin every recruitment in the system as a whole; role play and expectations as well as internal official relations are marked by a compromise between patronalism and bureaucracy which is displayed through the relations between non-officials and officials and their clients. In the presence of these two sets of values that coexist in the rural social system today in India, certain people who are better informed, literate and comparatively well-to-do and progressive, use them to further their material interests; they grab economic opportunities in a changing rural landscape and blow them up through bureaucratic procedures and personal contacts in their favour; they thus thrive on the normal environment that is ambivalent and their actions are rationalised on the strength of their material interests more than on values; illustrated, this means that the progressive literate farmers who are knowledgeable about the benefits offered by the various rural developmental institutions, as well as the rules and regulations of bureaucracy, appropriate a good chunk of the scarce resources from the organizational system simply because they are in a position to distinguish between the personal and the impersonal and at the same time use to their advantage the traditional bonds of kinship and affinity within the framework of the newly developing value system; they display a good amount of dexterity in handling the traditional and modern institutional value in gaining political and economic favour, at times cutting across the bonds of kinship.

IV

All the consequential changes described above produce *some imbalance in the social system, and uncertainty and conflict* result; social coherence diminished inequalities, economic and social, though in a less variable form; there is still less social mobility; landless farm labourers who used to identify themselves with the Harijans (Adidravidas) in the past continue to be affected by caste divisions and less economic opportunity. Special programmes are offered for their upliftment like better housing, education, and social welfare services, but there is little unity based on identity of material interests and benefits and are an assorted group by themselves. Social life for them is one of greater uncertainty as it is for others, but then it acts detrimental to their own interests.

The old rigid caste system with its organically related but sharply differentiated group ties and standards is slowly changing in rural India on the strength of consciously organized interest-oriented relationships among the progressive elements; but one is not sure whether or not it is structurally true, since even today the rural hierarchy has its distinct top and bottom; even among the progressive farmers who are politically strong, uniformity in social organization and a life style of their own are lacking though in certain areas they have united under one banner, namely, promotion of material and occupational interests; in rural areas nearest to towns there are associations of progressive farmers alive and kicking.

The presence of ambidexterous individuals, who have come to acquire wealth and manipulative skills, acquire political power through involvement in Panchayati Raj elections; Panchayati Raj has today broadened the basis of politics at the village level. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Panchayati Raj has become a hotbed of caste factions and control of caste activities to improve the economic status of caste members, among them the economically strong dominate, with the result that the gap between the rich and the poor among them has widened. Such a concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a wealthy few at the top who avoid external signs of status that mark off distinctly traditional social strata, further deepens social inequalities: new legal forms and political orders pose a challenge to old hierarchical values; the feeling of superiority or inferiority among the people is slowly vanishing and deference is more conspicuous by it absence; small and big farmers and workers and tenants rub shoulders while actively engaged in agricultural operations and transform personal loyalties into indifferent activities between the landlords, workers and tenants.

The landlord's customary obligations, that used to characterize old relationships and encouraged him to meet the crises of the life cycle of his workers and tenants, have been rooted out, and in consequence, community feeling among them has declined. Land owners think that the tenants reject them and show disrespect to them and for solving any of their (tenants') problems meet politicians and officials; the tenants in turn feel that deference to their landlords does not pay anymore since their 'masters' have become self-centered and disinterested in the community. Economically backward small cultivators suffer from the inability to manipulate the local administrative machinery to serve their purpose; for example, if they need more water for

crops through channel irrigation they become frustrated since they have no control over the flow of water. In co-operative societies credit flow is also controlled by the elite progressive caste-bound groups. All these factors generate more social tensions and conflict and encourage displacement of values and achievement of personal rather than institutional ends.

V

Nevertheless, one should be cautious to conclude that the complex social systems and the social order are on the verge of collapse; the interpenetration of the social and economic systems as a consequence of planned economic process seems to have induced some amorphousness in the social hierarchy, some amount of conflict too as a byproduct and project the image of rural India in transition; caste still continues to be an all-powerful element of social organization, though it is less inimical to economic development as was in the past. The process of technological change in agriculture through a new organizational structure necessarily interacts with other aspects of change too and gives rise to certain amount of social disequilibrium. Yet one may perceive less uncertainty at the higher social strata and more insecurity in the lower and middle strata of society despite some improvements in the living conditions of the people; one thing looms large in rural India that makes it difficult to predict what new social order is in the offing; and thus both economic and social inequalities continue to be the order of the day.

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4. CHANGING PATTERN OF CASTE AND SECTARIAN RELATIONS

G.Ramachandra Raj

I

The phenomena of sectarian relations, particularly caste relations, have been the focus for most of the sociological studies in India. But almost all of them have their starting point in the cultural system whose assumed unity, stability, functional integration and cumulative changes are as elusive as the insight which these studies purport to contribute. Infact, if the grand concepts like Sanskritization, Westernization, Bridge-action, and Dominant Caste are shorn off their grandiose labels, they can be seen in their true parochial nature having only a highly localized relevance and microscopic significance. If we look at the research studies done in this field during the last two decades, they are anything but inspiring. If at all they have contributed anything, it is towards adding further confusion to our already muddled conception about the phenomena. But this is in the least surprising, as many of us have been searching for unity, functional integration and cumulative changes where the predominant feature is disintegration and non-cumulative changes. When we seek for something which does not exist, the outcome is, naturally, confusion. Thus, we find many sociological works like the "Changing Frontiers of Caste" starting with changing and end up by proving that the frontiers are anything but changing. A few take great pains to prove that the great Sanskrit traditions percolate down to various caste strata bringing about change and when they find a reverse trend or some change quite independent of the much harped Sanskrit traditions, we are confronted with the pathetic spectacle of their utter bafflement.

The main reason for this stalemate in this field appears to be the predominant western orientation of Indian Sociologists and the long standing anthropological tradition in Indian Sociology both of which have contributed handsomely to the current obsession with structural functionalism. The integration model of the Functionalists is of no avail for getting any insight into the Indian social phenomena, as contemporary Indian society does not possess either the cultural stability or the functional integration which are the pre-requisites for structural-functional analysis.

Now the question arises as to what should be an alternative approach which will take us towards an adequate insight into the phenomena of changing pattern of caste and sectarian relations. In order to arrive at a satisfactory answer, one has to recognise the obvious and overcome the overriding structural-functional bias.

II

Necessity for a new orientation for the study of caste and sectarian relations

First, it is necessary to locate the obvious in the phenomenon of caste. None can dispute the fact that, over centuries, there has been a highly rigid stratification in Indian society. If we accept the nomenclature of "Caste" for this stratification, we have to be very careful in defining the term, because the term, in day to day language, includes the religious rationalisation of *Varnashrama* and philosophico-mythological sanctifications for perpetuating the system and curbing deviance. But none bothered to exclude this aspect while defining the concept of caste. On the other hand, most of us accepted the term in its entirety including the philosophico-religious rationale. Consequently, many have started their investigations from the wrong end by attempting to interpret the caste and sectarian relations in terms of an imaginary construct of a unified cultural system. During such futile exercise, even when we come across phenomena like the "Dominant Caste" which go contrary to our basic conceptual schemes, we ignore their significance by attempting yet other illogical and illusory interpretations which are totally devoid of any validity.

It is time that we become alive to the fact that the term "Caste" signifies only the phenomenon of rigid stratification and the philosophico-mythological rationalisations and sanctifications are nothing but the superstructure developed

for perpetuating this stratification and curbing any deviance therefrom.

It is also a fact that, over centuries, it has been the agricultural economy that provided the sustaining system for the Indian society. Land being the scarcest of all values in an agricultural economy, its ownership, control and possession determined the system of relations which would ensure both the stability required for agricultural pursuits and sustained production through undisturbed utilisation of human labour. Consequently, two divisions, of which one is constituted by those who owned, controlled and possessed the scarce value of land and the other by the wage labour, emerged. Further sub-division of these major two divisions took place following the emergence of allied economic pursuits like trade and commerce, and also due to the necessity for carrying out various specialised tasks involved in agricultural pursuits.

As a large majority of the population belonged to the lower strata of wage labour and did not have any share in the ownership and control over the scarce value of land, there was a perpetual threat to the exclusive distribution of scarce values among those in the upper strata. In order to ward off this threat and to perpetuate the *status quo*, powers were also distributed exclusively among the upper strata. The philosophico-religious rationalisations provided the necessary re-inforcement and sanctity for this overall differential distribution of the scarce values of economic, political and religious power.

With the advent of British colonial power, a new extra-structural dimension was added to the distribution pattern of economic, political and religious powers. This has initiated changes in the pattern of caste and sectarian relations by giving a new, but still institutionalised, outlet for the strivings of those in the lower strata for getting their due share of economic and political power. With the induction of further extra-structural elements by the time of Independence, the hitherto effective philosophico-religious and political sanctifications and sanctions, which maintained the differential distribution of scarce values in the guise of caste, lost all their relevance. That is, caste stratification ceased to have its traditional reinforcements and sanctity. Here we are confronted with a very strange phenomenon of the collapse of a superstructure brought about mainly by the extra-structural elements and only in a small measure by the immanent forces of change which, over centuries, were being kept dormant. Now, change at a faster rate is taking place in

the basic agricultural economy by a progressive growth of industrialisation, and mechanisation of agriculture. But these changes are, more or less, confined to the mode of production and the nature of the means of production. As far as the distribution pattern of scarce values--particularly the ownership of the means of production are concerned--the pattern remains essentially the same. The ownership, control and possession of the means of production remain with the upper strata leaving the rest to derive their sustenance by underselling their labour to the upper strata as has been the prevailing practice all along. But the near total disintegration of the superstructure of religio-politico-philosophical rationalisations, sanctifications and sanctions--which used to inhibit the immanent forces of disintegration and thereby sustained the gross differential distribution of scarce values--has created a situation where the wage labour can effectively challenge and can ultimately bring about a total disintegration of the existing pattern of differential distribution of scarce values. With the collapse of the super-structure, the owners of the means of production (upper strata) are no more in a position to harness the forces of production for warding off any threat to their ownership from the wage labour to whom the ownership rightfully belongs.

III

An alternative to structural-functional mode of analysis: Dialectical Approach

If we approach the problem of changing pattern of caste and sectarian relations in contemporary Indian society from this angle, there will be no alternative but to discard the structural-functional scheme with which we used to analyse this problem. Now the question arises as to what should be the alternative mode of analysis. When we take into consideration the essential features of change in our society, particularly its non-cumulative and disintegrative character, an adaptation of dialectical approach seems to be the most suited one to study the problem of change in Indian society. Such an approach can effectively take into account both the immanent forces of change within the structure and extra-structural forces of change which together operate in bringing out rapid changes in our society which are in no way cumulative.

What is attempted here is only a very brief over-view of the changing pattern of caste in Kerala just to show the possibility and fruitfulness in using this approach. The analysis may be judged only from this angle.

IV

Changing pattern of caste and sectarian relations: A brief historical over-view

Till the time of Independence, Kerala had a predominantly agricultural economy. Although this pattern has been undergoing rapid change after Independence due to large scale migration to other states, disproportionate expansion of service sector and the starting of more industrial units, yet the economy still remains agricultural as 46.96% of the work force is engaged in this sector, while industries have absorbed only 18.08%.

As land is the scarcest of all values in an agrarian society, its ownership, control and possession determined, from very early days, the nature of caste stratification in Kerala. Till the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., Brahmins were the sole proprietors and rulers of the land. They took over both political and religious power in additon to economic power so as to ensure physical conformity and sanctification for this gross differential distribution pattern of the scarce value of land. They derived legitimisation and sanctification for their monopoly of economic and political power from the legend that it was Lord Parasurama who reclaimed Kerala from the sea and who distributed it among sixty four Brahmin families as propitiation for his sins. Thus, a few Brahmin families appropriated for themselves the entire scarce values reducing all others to wage labour. Here we find the genesis of a distinct caste system that obtains only in Kerala.

As Brahmin overlords were only very few in number, they required an efficient militia for policing their land interests and enforcing physical conformity to their dictates among the wage labour. Those of the wage labour, who were assigned this role, were designated as Sudras or Nairs and the rest as slave castes.

This wide gulf between the wage labour and the propertied caste, and the fact that the latter consisted of only an insignificant few, brought about a near total disintegration of the system by the 3rd century A.D., when the Brahmins forfeited their ownership and control over land to the Nairs. By the 5th century A.D., the Nairs assumed political power also.

Unlike the Brahmins, Nairs who constituted a sizable section of the population, took effective measures to safeguard their newly acquired economic and political power.

By strictly enforcing untouchability and other social distance practices, they effectively prevented the emergence of even a semblance of unity and solidarity among the slave castes. This Nair dominance continued right till the rise of the British power in the region, in the middle of 19th century. A consequence of this has been the emergence of a near dichotomous caste-cum-class stratification in Kerala with Nairs comprising 17% of the population constituting the upper caste and upper class and the rest of the population constituting the out-castes and wage labour. As trade and commerce did not emerge as a major economic pursuit due to geographical isolation and political Balkanisation of the region, there was no caste corresponding to the Vaishyas, in the Kerala caste structure.

The disintegration of this two tier caste stratification and the decline of Nair dominance began with the arrival of the Portuguese. By the end of the 16th century, Portuguese power reached its zenith and the Cochin Raja became their vassal. They introduced the new economic pursuits of trade and commerce and at the same time took over political power from the Nair chieftains of the Cochin region. This situation and the proselytisation activities of the Portuguese provided an outlet for the hitherto suppressed strivings of the outcastes and slave castes to get a share of the economic scarce values which were the exclusive preserve of the Nairs. When the Portuguese took over the civil and criminal jurisdiction over Christians from the Cochin Raja and the Nair chieftains, and extended economic and political patronage to new converts to Christianity, the outcastes and slave castes embraced Christianity in large numbers. The Nairs could no longer impose economic, social and political restrictions on the new converts to Christianity. This has initiated the disintegration of traditional caste stratification.

But this phenomenon was confined, by and large, to Cochin region alone. When the Dutch, who replaced the Portuguese, were expelled from the Malabar coast as a result of their defeat at the hands of Travancore in 1741, the then Cochin Raja and the Nair chieftains under him took stringent measures to prevent this exodus from outcastes and slave castes to Christianity. They even persecuted the Christians. But these efforts were short-lived and with the advent of British rule in Kerala coast, after the Srirangapattam Treaty in 1792, Christianity got a new impetus. When Col.Munroe became the Resident-Dewan of Travancore and Cochin in 1811, many among the slave castes and outcastes embraced Christianity all over Kerala so as to secure political and economic protection and patronage from the British.

In the Malabar region there was a similar conversion to Islam during the conquest of the region by Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan of Mysore. As the Mysorean conquest lasted only a very short period, the new converts to Islam could not derive any benefit from their political patrons as in the case of Christians. Consequently, there was no significant improvement in the socio-economic life of Malabar Muslims.

By the end of the 19th century, there was a near exodus from the outcastes and slave castes to Christianity. The growth of Christian churches through conversion continued till the thirties of this century. When trade and commerce emerged as a major economic pursuit under the British, it was the new entrants to Christianity who took them up. The Nairs, who realised the growing threat to their economic and political interests from Christians, very soon brought about many social reforms like the abolition of untouchability so as to curb the rapid growth of Christian churches by preventing the conversion of outcastes to Christianity. Also, they organised themselves into a powerful group and did not lag behind the Christians in entering the field of commerce, trade and English education.

Though these moves on the part of the Nairs succeeded in inhibiting the growth of Christian churches, such moves at the same time affected their economic and political interests. By the time of Independence, outcastes were no more the slaves of the Nairs. Also, the numerically dominant *Ezhavas* among the outcasts organised themselves into a powerful group and staked their claim for a share in the economic and political power. Though quite a few among them have become as affluent as the Nairs and Christians, majority of the *Ezhavas* still remain as wage labour. Other outcastes like the *Pulayas* and *Arayas* remained unorganised and they even now continue to be the wage labour like the bulk of the *Ezhavas*.

The Nairs, Christians and the affluent sections among the *Ezhavas* and Muslims constitute the landed proprietors, industrialists, traders, educationalists, and white collar employees in government, semi-government and industrial bureaucracies in contemporary Kerala. Majority of the Muslims, *Ezhavas* and other erstwhile outcastes constitute the wage labour in all sectors.

In traditional Kerala, caste and class used to superimpose over each other. But by contemporary times class cleavages

no more synchronise with caste and sectarian cleavages. The economic interests of upper class Nairs, Christians, *Ezhavas* and Muslims brought them together in all fields as evidenced in the formation of a united front representing these interests to take over political power. Again, the lower class *Ezhavas*, Muslims and outcastes and the less affluent among the Nairs and Christians are gradually coming together under different political movements. Only a large scale systematic sociological investigation can reveal whether the contemporary economic and social situation in Kerala has the potential for the emergence of a dichotomous class cleavage in the near future.

Conclusion

In conclusion it may be stated that the dominant structural-functional approach in Indian sociology has miserably failed in providing any valuable insight into the fast changing pattern of caste and sectarian relations in Indian society. As against structural-functionalism, dialectical approach has tremendous potential for providing penetrating insights into Indian social phenomena, particularly caste and sectarian relations. But necessary adaptations must be effected in the approach, as the Indian situation has several distinctive and idiosyncratic characteristics.

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PART II

5. ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY

S.Srinivasan

Introduction

Voluntary organizations have been playing a pioneering role in improving the socio-economic life of the people. They have made a significant contribution towards the eradication of rural poverty since independence. They have come to occupy a prominent place as one of the major forces of social change in the countryside. India has a large number of voluntary organizations for achieving various specific objectives, a few of them truly competent voluntary agencies with the requisite organization and resources for transforming the life of the rural community.

Lord Beveridge (1948)[1] defined voluntary organization as one, whether its workers are paid or unpaid, which is initiated and governed by its own members without external control. A voluntary agency may be interpreted as an organized entity set up by a group of persons who, on their own initiative or partly on outside motivation, try to help the poor people of a locality to undertake activities to satisfy their needs and also to bring them and the public sector extension services close to one another, for more equitable and effective development in various sections of the rural populations. It is non-governmental, non-profit and non-sectarian organization. It has flexibility in its structure and substantial autonomy in its action. A voluntary agency may or may not receive outside assistance, including assistance from the government.

Voluntary organizations have played a key role in rural development for the past several decades. They have been assigned the role of a partner of the State in rural development efforts to supplement its endeavour or compete with

it sometimes. A large number of voluntary organizations have played supplementary and complementary roles to the state. In the developmental efforts, the government alone will not be able to raise the levels of people above the poverty line. In this context, the role of voluntary organizations in rural development assumes importance.

Voluntary organizations in India are vital instruments for rural transformation. They have a number of special advantages to function as agents of change. Compared to government agencies, these organisations are closer to the rural poor with intimate knowledge of local situations, rural traditions and are able to communicate to local communities in their own idiom and promote people's participation in developmental work. They have demonstrated the qualities of flexibility of service, personal touch and closeness to the client groups. They have also shown the capacity to initiate and experiment with new innovative programmes, stimulate the interest of the community and they have shown sensitivity to meet difficult problems in ways that cannot easily be adopted by the state government agencies. Since many voluntary organizations work at the micro-level and have substantial freedom to experiment with alternative models of development, there is a high level of innovative experience which could be very valuable in developing alternative paradigms for total development. In view of their close proximity with the people and their rich experiences in successful implementation of various rural development programmes, their energies can further be harnessed in developmental work.

Voluntary organizations in rural areas help the villages in the field of agriculture, irrigation, animal husbandry poultry, fisheries, village and cottage industries etc. In the field of social development, the voluntary organizations are endeavouring to promote programmes such as education (formal and non-formal), health, nutrition, housing etc. A number of voluntary organizations are engaged in the integrated development of backward areas laying special emphasis on weaker sections of society. Other agencies have developed sectoral programmes for the benefit of the weaker sections in rural areas. All these are people's organizations promoting or intending to promote self-reliance and self-help among the target groups. Some of them have commendable performance to their credit. Thus, voluntary organizations have an impressive record of service in the field of rural development and social welfare. Involvement of voluntary organizations in rural development activities is evidently a functional

necessity and complementary to the efforts of the government. The extent of involvement of voluntary organizations in rural development could vary from one region to the other. What is most encouraging is the increasing awareness on the part of voluntary organizations and their responsiveness to rural development work.

A number of voluntary organizations have been implementing rural development programmes which are formulated on their own initiative and with the funds mobilised from national and international funding agencies, the state and central governments. The number of voluntary organizations in recent years is said to be increasing with thrusts on different aspects of rural development.

The present case study was to (i) examine the organizational structure and functioning of the selected voluntary organization and (ii) analyse formulation, planning and implementation of various rural development projects; decision-making; the role of people's participation in development programmes; pattern of information system, monitoring and evaluation of rural development projects.

Methodology

Case study method was employed for the present investigation. For selecting the agency, organizations which have fairly wide range of rural development programmes with sufficient coverage were listed. Preliminary survey and pilot studies were conducted for identification and selection of the organizations in the state of Uttar Pradesh. One voluntary organization, namely, the *Banwasi Seva Ashram* was identified for intensive case study. The preliminary study had facilitated in preparing interview schedule for collecting basic information from the selected voluntary organization. The basic data schedule was intended to collect basic information on organizational structure and functioning of the selected voluntary organization. Data were also collected through secondary sources like documents, records, publications, annual reports,news letters etc., available in the office of the selected voluntary organization and also through in depth discussions with the office-bearers of the selected voluntary organizations, who were directly involved in the implementation of various rural development programmes in the project area.

Banwasi Seva Ashram

The *Banwasi Seva Ashram*, a voluntary organization

on Gandhian ideology situated in a very backward and predominantly tribal area of Mirzapur district in the State of Uttar Pradesh, was established in the year 1954 and registered as a society under the Societies Act of 1860 in 1956. This organization believes in Gandhian philosophy of *Gramswarajya*-- a philosophy which conceived the village as a self-reliant and self-contained community, co-operating and sharing life with each other and with a belief that welfare of every individual should be the primary concern in life. The main thrust of the organization is on the improvement of the weaker sections of society especially tribals and harijans.

Objectives

The following are the objectives of this organization, as outlined in its bye-laws:

i. To work for the all-round development of society;

ii. To develop new and appropriate skills in different fields such as agriculture, animal husbandry, rural industries, health, adult education etc.;

iii. To train local people in new skills and different services; and

iv. To encourage people to form a village council and deal with local problems and work for building self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

Organizational Structure

The Executive authority of the B*Banwasi Seva Ashram* is vested in a governing body consisting of a Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen, a Secretary and twelve members. The governing body is the supreme executive authority of the organization and is vested with all powers, relating to policies, programmes and decision-making.

The role of the governing body is clearly defined in the bye-laws of the organization as the executive authority. The executive committee sets out the policies and programmes for implementation in the project area. It is responsible for execution of policies and programmes of the organization. The executive committee accepts the membership fees, donations etc. It submits the annual report and statement of accounts to the governing body. The Secretary of the organization, on behalf of the governing body, receives funds

from the national and international funding agencies for the approved developmental schemes. The governing body appoints the staff required for the organization to run its activities. All the members of the governing body meet at least twice a year. The governing body meeting is usually held to conduct the following: (i) to consider and approve the report of the activities and the audited accounts of the organization; (ii) to lay down certain guidelines to improve the working of the organization for future activities; (iii) to plan and implement various rural development projects and (iv) to consider any other matters with the permission of the Chairman. It calls for half-yearly or special meetings as and when necessary, for reviewing the work of the organization.

The Secretary of the organization is delegated with powers on different aspects of the administration. He is the administrative Head and looks after the day-to-day administration of the organization. The Secretary is also the Project-Director of the organization and is assisted by a host of research, technical and field staff to carry out various kinds of rural development activities of the organization in the project area. The staff employed in this organization can broadly be classified into two categories, namely, full-time volunteers and part-time volunteers. In all, 270 persons are employed as full-time volunteers and 160 as part-time volunteers in this organization. These include technical staff with formal and non-formal training in skills; and non-technical staff including administrative staff.

This organization has no separate committee to supervise the various rural development projects in the project area. Instead, this organization has a local management committee. All the Heads of the departments of the organization are represented in the committee. There are 12 to 15 members in the committee. These members meet once in a month or whenever necessary. The meeting is more informal rather than formal.

Resource Mobilization

This organization receives grants and funds from various sources for carrying out its developmental activities. It gets substantial financial assistance from international funding agencies such as Action-Aid, U.K., Christian Children Fund, U.K., Oxfam, U.K., Ford Foundation, U.S.A., the Central Protestant Agency (E.Z.E.), West Germany, Bread-for-World, West Germany. It also receives substantial grants-in-

aid from the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, Government of India, Bombay; Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, New Delhi; Action for Food Production (A.F.P.R.O), New Delhi. Besides, the profits from the sale proceeds of the products manufactured by the organization and public contributions in cash or kind are the other sources of finance for this organization.

Approach to Rural Development

This organization developed a strategy by which rural development programmes can be given the needed orientation to the poor and their implementation accelerated. It adopted a new approach to integrated rural development. Its approach was manifold. The emphasis was on: (i) involvement of the local people in every stage of planning and implementation of the programme; (ii) creating a sense of self-reliance in the rural communities; (iii) taking up of sound education and health programmes simultaneously with economic programmes.

Areas of Activities and Coverage

The organization under study has been carrying out various socio-economic development programmes in one of the most backward tribal areas of Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh. The various activities formulated, planned and implemented by this organization are agriculture, horticulture, minor irrigation, animal husbandry; Khadi and village industries; community health and family welfare; adult education , non-formal education, vocational training; rural entitlement, etc. It has spread its rural development programmes and activities in four community development blocks, covering 400 villages in Mirzapur district in the State of Uttar Pradesh, covering about 3 lakhs population.

For the implementation of the socio-economic development and social welfare programmes, the organization has developed a network of twelve sub-centres or otherwise called Rural Development Centres, apart from the main centre, which are promoting self-sufficient and self-governing village communities. Each Centre covers approximately 25 villages under its jurisdiction and is managed independently by a group of field functionaries.

Participation of the People in the Developmental Programmes of the Organization

A *Gram Swarajya Sabha* (a village-level committee) has been constituted in each project village by taking one

adult from each family as its member. Each project village has a local committee with a leadership core within this. This *sabha* works on the basis of consensus for planning and village development. Thus, at the village-level, 250 *gram Swarajya Sabhas* are functioning in all the villages of the project area of this organization. For inter-village functioning, a *Kshetriya Gram Swarajya Sabha* has been formed at the level of a cluster of 20 to 30 villages by taking the President and Secretary of each *Gram Swarajya Sabha* as its members. Thus, there are 10 *Kshetriya Swarajya Sabhas* functioning in the entire project area. There are voluntary village leaders in each cluster committee. At the project village, a *Kshetriya Gram Swarajya Sabha* has been constituted by taking representatives from the village, the *Kshetriya Sabhas* and social workers in the field. Thus, a three-tier hierarchy of people's participation exists in the organization for programme formulation and implementation. Planning is done at each of the three levels of hierarchy, namely, the village, the cluster and the central level, through the committees set up by the organization. All the decisions with respect to the development of the villages are taken on the basis of consensus of the members present at the meetings of these *sabhas*. The *Gram Swarajya Sabha* (village committee) meets once a week, the *Gram Kshetriya Sabha* once a month and the *Kendriya Sabha* once in three months. Emergency meetings are also held at short-notice if there is any specific issue to be settled.

The village committee periodically meets and discusses the problems concerning the development of the village. Involvement of *Gram Swarajya Sabha* is considered to be an innovative measure for the participation of people in developmental programmes. The committee considers in detail the implementation of on-going programmes, periodically reviews and takes appropriate decisions to suit the local needs. One noteworthy feature observed in the implementation of the programmes of this organization was that they had implemented the programmes by actually involving the people both at the planning and implementation stages. This organization had formed *Gram Swarajya Sabhas* in the project villages which functioned as catalytic agents between the voluntary organizations and the people. Such democratic institutions developed by the organization enabled them to implement the socio-economic development programmes very smoothly and effectively.

Gram Kosh (People's Own Bank)

This is an innovation developed by the organization,

as an experiment in eliminating the circumstances that propel village families into the grip of moneylenders.

The organization has set up a 'Revolving Fund' in 250 villages of the project area to provide cheap credit to the villagers. A credit camp has also been set up at the headquarters of the organization in which villagers receive loans and in the same location purchase cattle for their use. A branch of the State Bank of India has been established at the headquarters of the organization, for this purpose. The villagers are willingly and regularly repaying the loans for the development assistance received from the organization. Discussion with the project officials of the organization revealed that the overall repayment rate into the revolving fund set up by the organization in the project villages was 68 per cent without taking any legal action against the borrowers. All the defaults or cases of non-payment are handled by the village committee. Thus, the *Gram Kosh* are growing into a dynamic and expanding system of 'people's own banks' to replace the money-lenders, for their credit and development needs.

While this approach may offer an alternative to the problem of chronic rural indebtedness, it has one major weakness. While farmers in this region may utilize the *Gram kosh* for their agricultural loans, they still patronize money-lenders for social functions and other consumption needs.

People's participation in planning and implementation of development programmes and projects leads to the selection of the types of projects which are of direct benefit to them and will also generate more gainful employment. With regard to rural development, the most important form of participation is in sharing of the benefits of development projects. Only through people's participation, the improved management of physical resources such as land, water and forest is possible. The evidence is based on the many successful cases of community irrigation projects or soil conservation projects or land development projects. It can be observed that all the objectives of rural development projects revolve around the pivot of people's participation. People's active involvement and participation are very basic to the successful implementation of any rural development programme. This has to be supported with technical know-how and guidance by the experts and project administering personnel. The need for greater involvement of the people in various programmes implemented for improving the quality of life in rural areas has been increasingly realised of late and

voluntary organizations have involved the local people in planning and implementation of various rural development projects.

It is natural that the rural communities do participate in various developmental activities of the organization. These include the efforts of the rural community to take part in the planning, formulation and implementation of various rural development programmes in the project area to solve their socio-economic problems. For example, to solve the health needs of the communities, they have to pay for the services rendered, make salary payments to the health workers and provide land or building to house the health centre; providing labour and materials for construction and maintenance of buildings; and provision of other facilities such as furniture, water supply, electricity etc.

The study indicated that the beneficiaries apart from paying the service charges, also made some cash contributions to the organization. They have also contributed building materials such as wood etc., to the voluntary organization. They provided free labour for land development and soil conservation works.

It was observed that the scope of community participation in the implementation of rural development programmes was limited. However, the analysis of the present study indicated that the community participated in various programmes to the extent possible.

Pattern of Information System, Monitoring and Evaluation

Information System

Information system is an important tool in the process of decision-making. It has become important in the field of rural development so as to take effective decisions relating to planning, policy and implementation. First, the major rural development activities are identified and under each category various sub-activities are noted. For sub-activities, various indicators are formulated to measure the level of achievement. According to these indicators, data are collected and analysed systematically. This would reveal the success or corrective actions needed for each rural development programme. This helps the implementing functionaries to plan well in advance and take suitable policy decisions for effective implementation of rural development projects. Thus, the information system facilitates the project authorities to keep a wealth of information, which, if utilized properly, can help to plan rural development programmes

effectively and this, in turn, may further lead to improve the performance of the programmes.

It was revealed that the *Banwasi Seva Ashram* maintained an information system relating to various rural development programmes systematically. Discussion with the officials of the organization disclosed that such information system helped them to plan and execute rural development programmes for effective follow-up action so as to achieve their goals as planned.

Monitoring

Monitoring is a process or a strategy to keep a close watch on the implementation of a project so as to ensure the timely completion of its various components within the sanctioned outlay. It also entails assessing difficulties and bottlenecks which arise in the execution of projects and taking corrective action wherever necessary. It also observes whether the stated objectives of the project were being achieved. Monitoring of the programmes is carried out by the implementation agency itself. Monitoring is the continuous gathering of information on project inputs and objectives and on conditions and complementary activities that are critical to the success of the project.

An attempt has been made to study as to how the sample voluntary organization was monitoring its various rural development programmes implemented by it. Since the programmes of the organization covered large areas, it was observed that the organization has set up a monitoring cell at the project headquarters of the organization. Discussion with the project officials of the organization revealed that besides supervision of workers in the field, the field level functionaries who are actually handling the programmes periodically send their progress reports to the project office at the headquarters. In addition, weekly or fortnightly or monthly meetings were held at the headquarters or in the project villages in which the field-level personnel exchanged their experiences among themselves and discussed various problems and difficulties, encountered. Based on the proceedings of the meetings, suitable action was taken at the headquarters' office level and in turn, the decisions were percolated down to the field-level functionaries for follow-up action. This system facilitates the field functionaries to carry out their work smoothly. It was observed that the two-way system of monitoring is effectively carried out by the sample organization for successful implementation of rural development projects.

Evaluation of Rural Development Programmes

Ongoing evaluation is the continual analysis during project implementation of project output effects and development impact. Post-evaluation is an analysis after the completion of the project of its (output), effects and impact. Long-term evaluation is entrusted to a competent, independent agency after the programme is completed or after it has run for sometime, say, three or five years or so. The *Banwasi Seva Ashram* has taken steps to develop concurrent evaluation systems in respect of most of the development programmes. The funding agencies or reputed research institutes are providing the necessary guidance to this organization in this regard.

It was found that the *Banwasi Seva Ashram* was evaluating its rural development programmes periodically. Discussion with the project officials of the organization revealed that the organization's programmes were evaluated either by the funding agencies or academic and research institutes. Evaluation was also done by the organization itself. Data revealed that a few studies on health and family welfare were conducted by the staff of the organization. It was noted that some of these research studies were sponsored by research organizations like Pathfinders, U.S.A; Agricultural Finance Corporation, Bombay, etc. The Whole Village Development Programme (W.V.D.P.) of the organization was evaluated by the Agricultural Finance Corporation of Bombay. It was stated that the findings of evaluation studies were utilized to further improve the planning of programmes and feedback to the field-level functionaries for effective implementation of the programmes.

Conclusions

The study revealed that this organization had set up a 'Revolving Fund' *(Gram Kosh)* in 250 villages of the project area to provide cheap credit to the villagers. This is an innovation developed by the organization as an experiment in eliminating the circumstances that propel village families into the grip of money-lenders. Thus, the *Gram Kosh* are growing into a dynamic and expanding system of 'people's own banks' to replace the money-lenders for their credit and development needs.

The study indicated that the rural communities participated invarious developmental activities of the organization and the beneficiaries had given both cash and kind contribu-

tions to the organization. The analysis of this study revealed that the community participated in various programmes to the extent possible.

Information system facilitates the project authorities to keep a wealth of information, which can help to plan rural development programmes effectively and in turn, may lead to further improvement of the performance of the programme. It was revealed that the *Banwasi Seva Ashram*, under study, maintained an information system relating to various rural development programmes, systematically. Such information system helped the organization to plan and executive rural development programmes for effective follow up action for achieving their goals as planned. Since the programmes of the organisation covered large areas, it was observed that the organization had set up a monitoring cell at the project headquarters. Two-way system of monitoring had been effectively carried out for successful implementation of rural development projects. This system facilitated the field functionaries to carry out their work smoothly and effectively.

It was found that the organization was evaluating their rural development programmes periodically. Further, the organizations's programmes were evaluated either by the funding agencies or academic and research institutes. It was revealed that the finding of evaluation studies were utilized to improve further in planning and implementation of programmes.

NOTE

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6. ADULT EDUCATION AS A PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

K.Muralidaran

Modernization of a country is characterised by its industrial and agricultural development. This process depends much on the socio-economic structure of a country. India is a land of villages. Hence adoption of agricultural innovations (and its consequent 'Green Revolution') and the growth of industries in the rural sector would be the process of modernization of our country. But we have to remember that our villages are dominated by landlords who hesitate to accept social changes, since they are accustomed to surplus gains by exploiting manpower. Due to this social and economic framework, the process of modernization becomes a slow process. The individual worker either in the field of agriculture or in industry shows little interest to adapt himself to modern technology since he develops alienation with his work. As a result of this, development efforts in any sphere related to them find it difficult to achieve their expected targets (in terms of quality) successfully. Adult Education Programme is one of such spheres of development activity meant for the upliftment of the illiterate masses. As such this programme also suffers in the process of modernizing rural folks eventhough it has the potentiality to do so.

National Adult Education Programme (NAEP)

It was formally launched on the 2nd October, 1978. This programme is meant to cover the entire illiterate population in the 15-35 age group. Government and voluntary agencies and Universities implement the scheme. The NAEP has three elements. Literacy, functionality and awareness. Literacy includes reading, writing and numeracy. Functionality includes improvement of the skills and capabilities of

an individual in discharging functions as part of his vocation, as a citizen and as a member of the family. Awareness visualizes a sense of social obligation and includes consciousness about the manner in which the poor are deprived of the benefits of the various laws and policies intended for them. The NAEP assumes that these objectives would be realized through a basic programme of ten months to be followed by post-literacy and follow-up activities.

The significance of adult education was highlighted very early by our national leaders. Mahatma Gandhi described mass illiteracy as India's 'sin and shame' and wanted it to be eradicated. According to Jawaharlal Nehru "Everything else, whether it is industry, agriculture or anything else which is important for us, will grow adequately only if there is the background of mass education"[1].

The Potentialities of Adult Education Programme in Modernizing Rural Communities

The 'awareness' and 'functionality' components of Adult Education Programmes have the potential to modernize rural illiterates. They educate the learners to adapt themselves to the present conditions of health and family planning programmes, agriculture etc., and awaken their consciousness to the prevalence of social injustice. Political and economic systems are those aspects which are given main consideration in the purview of the terms 'awareness' and 'functionality'. Building up their knowledge on small savings and co-operation and their motivation are also a part of this programme. The Policy Statement of the National Adult Education Programme stresses the importance of awareness building among the masses as one of the fundamental objectives of adult education, and literacy through which "the illiterate and the poor can rise to their own liberation through literacy, dialogue and action". In this manner Adult Education Programme is a process of modernization. Since "what is involved in modernization is "total" transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organization that characterize the "advanced," economically prosperous, and relatively politically stable nations of the western world".[2] At this juncture it is appropriate to quote the recommendations of the Review Committee on the National Adult Education Programme towards widening and deepening of the contents of the programme:

"Literacy should be integrated with general education which should include knowledge of the basic principles

of the constitution, promotion of national integration, and a deepening of the cultural background; the participants should be encouraged to learn about health and family planning, the importance of conservation of environment, the relevance of science and scientific temper for shaping the future . . . . . "

"The aim of functionality is improvement of vocational skills and for more productive use of time; for a dry land agriculturalist, for instance, it implies an understanding of means for better care of his land, dexterity in modern dry farming, and information about the institutions which can provide inputs for improved agriculture. Functionality should also include acquisition of skills to supplement one's income through village industries and activities such as poultry farming and dairying".

Awareness is a significant element of this programme and what can be taught in this aspect depends much on the perception, competency and commitment of instructors and supervisors. "An important aspect of awareness is that the poor should become conscious that to a great degree they can shape their own future through interlinking of learning, reflection and concrete action. It should also mean an understanding of laws and government policies affecting them, and a realization that unless organized action is taken, they may continue to be deprived of the benefits implied in these laws and policies".

Adult Education Programme and its Linkage with other Development Programmes

The policy planners of the Adult Education Programme expect the programme to go hand in hand with other development programmes. By doing so they expect the Adult Education Programme to function as a more successful programme for uplifting the illiterates. This idea needs appreciation because the adult learner gets an opportunity of being a beneficiary of the development programmes. Such incidents may create an applied value to the functionality and awareness components of the Adult Education Programme. The policy formulators elaborate on some of the ways in which adult education programmes and other development programmes ought to be linked up:

"Close co-operation should be created with the dominant development activity of the area, whether it goes under the Fabric of Integrated Rural Development, or Integrated Tribal Development or Employment Oriented Area Planning.

The Adult Education Programme should strive to establish mutually supportive linkages with that developmental activity."[3]

Government departments such as Agriculture, Rural Development, Public Health and Social Welfare have the potential for establishing such linkages. Thus, we can justifiably suggest that the Adult Education Programme formulation strongly implied objectives such as a change in the standard of living and the quality of life besides reducing illiteracy.

Evaluation of the Programme

The question that remains with us at this stage is to know as how far the programme is successful, especially in terms of the awareness and functionality components of the programme. The programme in Tamilnadu had been studied by the Madras Institute of Development Studies -- an autonomous research institution -- commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, to carry out quick appraisals and other indepth studies as part of a continuing programme of evaluation. The appraisal reports of these studies and the publications of the Government of India provide us the following major findings.

The overall assessment of the programme, nation-wide, based on the findings of studies by different research institutions at different stages, is indicated thus:

> "Most of the studies found the achievements of learners in literacy to be modest; in some projects the achievements appeared extremely low. . . . The situation with regard to achievements in 'functionality' and 'awareness' by and large appeared still more unsatisfactory".[4]

The appraisal reports of the Tamilnadu projects suggest that the programme's potential to be an instrument of social change is not evident.[5] The programme had been diluted to teaching of literacy and arithmetic in a more-or-less formal manner. Consequently, motivation among potential beneficiaries was reported to be inadequate. The adult education instructors and other higher level functionaries were not able to create and sustain enthusiasm among the illiterate adults, since the functionaries themselves were not well equipped to perform the role of change agents.

The report of the Review Committee on Adult Education appointed by Government of India states that "As far as the awareness component is concerned, although some successful work has been done in some projects, where proper

leadership was available, there is, generally speaking, a lack of clarity among the workers regarding the meaning and content of awareness".[6]

The appraisal reports also indicated that the integration between the Adult Education Programme and other development programmes was not in evidence and consequently the Programme's potential to serve as a vehicle for development was hampered. The desired linkages between Adult Education Programme and other development programmes have failed to be established for a variety of reasons, which can be characterized as arising out of the following:

"a. Lack of clarity in the policy statements regarding the purpose, nature and extent of linkage between AEP and other development activities.

b. Lack of awareness and commitment at crucial levels of the development administration and AEP administration about the need for linkages between the two.

c. Absence of clear definition of authorities responsible for initiating and maintaining linkages.

d. Existence of inter-departmental rivalry.

e. Practical difficulties of field level functionaries arising out of inadequate resources for development activities as well as for AEP".[7]

Adult Education and Development

It will be redundant to add any more finding since this brief description of the earlier empirical findings itself gives us an idea about the functioning of the programme. These findings question the possibilities of the Adult Education Programme to function as an effective process of modernizing illiterate masses. Motivated learners, committed instructors and their genuine interest to make the programme successful (not to make it a mere literacy programme) would be the remedy to this present situation.

However, we need to confront one basic question, viz:

whether literacy skills, even if attained by the adults to a significant extent, can help them bring about a social change? "We probably do not have adequate evidence to show that economic development was caused by reduction of illiteracy; most likely, it is the other way round

that economic development to education including adult education. Hence, merely wiping away adult illiteracy, without concurrent efforts to create economic opportunities for the adults or creating an environment where questioning the establishment by an individual is not likely to prove disastrous for him/her cannot possibly bring about the desired social change".[8] On the other hand, if we were to look upon a desired educational status of a society as an end in itself rather than a means to economic objectives, then this programme has to be made as a continuous activity on par with such welfare measures as provision of health care or formal education. The focus of adult education should change in the mature, continuing stage to serve such purposes as the following:

i) enable individuals to acquire new skills when they find their old skills have become obsolete on account of rapid technological change; and

ii) facilitate individuals to cultivate an interest and involvement in spheres other than those related to their work.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it becomes necessary to mention about this external factor--the economic scene of our country--which has its impact over all development programmes. Three main elements that increase the hold of the powerful on the Indian Society are i) ownership of the means of production ii) monopoly of knowledge and iii) the consequent hold over the expertise that helps these groups to organize-themselves.[9] The groups that have combined all three forms of domination are the ones who have the greatest power. A comparative study of some eastern U.P. Villages in which the land-holding groups that have modernized themselves and others that remained backward shows that these three elements are crucial.[10] The landlords have been able to get the benefits of all the aid provided by the government. Through solidarity in their group, they have been able to take control of the panchayats, the development block and other agents of change whom they can approach since they are educated and powerful. On the other hand, these groups make sure that the Harijans are not educated, for fear that they may become aware of their rights. Thus, Adult Education Programme suffers while becoming a process of modernization due to internal and external factors which are common to all development efforts.

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7. MODERNIZATION OF AGRICULTURE: ROLE OF TRAINING AND VISIT SYSTEM

G.Rajamanickkam

Modernization includes all human activities in different areas which are different from traditional activities. Hoogvelt defines modernization as the process of social change which leads to progress of the Society. He further discusses that in developing societies, the modernization process is aimed mainly through western ideas and techniques in several aspects of economic and political life. The planned programmes of social change are guided by western experts by their own experiences in their own countries. Hoogvelt criticises this approach since these programmes of modernization are introduced without taking into consideration the adoptability of the programme to the existing social situation of the developing countries.

The cultural values and the social organization also need more modification for the success of the Western oriented modernization programme. Hence, most of the programmes of social change, face problems in their social acceptance and adoption. Thus, it becomes essential for us to understand the different factors involved in modernization of these developing societies. It is also necessary to know the value system of the community, the extent of people's participation and other social factors which decide the success of the modernization process.

The traditional approach to the study of modernization has been to consider tradition and modernity as polar opposites, and mutually exclusive. The more you have the one, the less you have of the other. Modernity and Tradition, according to this view are dichotomous. In this approach the basic assumption is that the social structure of traditional

societies is simple, homogeneous, static, particularistic, closed, dominated by customs and age old traditions. These societies are less differentiated, with their primitive agrarian economy and ascriptive system. 'Modernity' contrary to the traditional model, represents rationality, emphasis on achievement, a complex social structure, industrial urbanism and an elaborate institutional framework. It has a "rationalist and a positivist spirit".

Rostow thinks that the traditional societies are dominated by kinship and lack certain preconditions of Science and Technology. Their economy depends mainly on agriculture which often suffers from fluctuations depending on monsoonal conditions. According to him modernization starts with the "take off" which is the "break" from tradition.

But Eisenstadt considers that the relation between the traditional and the modern does not necessarily involve displacement, conflict or exclusiveness. Modernity does not necessarily weaken tradition. According to him, both tradition and modernity form the bases of ideologies and movements in which the polar opposites (Tradition and Modernity) are converted into aspirations, and traditional forms provide the stimulus for change. The structural changes relevant to modernization begin first at the level of a few crucial sectors of society and once these start, the consequences may either be the high acceleration of modernization or a regression to traditional forms.

This paper describes the Training and Visit System of Extension developed by Daniel Benor, which has been introduced in projects, assisted by the World Bank in a number of countries, with good results. In India, it has been found very effective when introduced throughout the area served by specific irrigation projects, it is now being rapidly broadened in scope by a number of state-wide extension projects serving both irrigated and rainfed agriculture.

The system has been put into operation in areas where the need is to improve the level of agricultural production by large numbers of farmers cultivating mostly small farms using low-level technology and usually traditional methods. Initially, the extension service concentrates its effort only on the major crops and on those few aspects of their production which offer greatest scope for increasing incomes through relatively simple techniques of better crop husbandry. These techniques often call for little or no increase in cash inputs. Results have sometimes been dramatic. As the farmer's

confidence in the system grows, he is likely to try using more advanced methods and more cash inputs to improve productivity further.

Although the system reaches a large number of farmers, its cost is low in comparison with the incremental value of production achieved. It uses village-level workers with comparatively low educational standards supported by subject matter specialists and provides close supervision through a management structure which establishes a clear single line of responsibility.

The village level workers are given regular training in the production methods which they disseminate through selected farmers and others who adopt the new methods and compare the results with that part of their fields cultivated by normal practices.

The main role of Training and Visit System is to develop a single modern professional service capable of giving farmers sound technical advice on their entire farming operation. In this new system, interested and influential farmers of the community are identified and selected as 'Contact farmers' and are being fed regularly the latest agricultural technology so that they are not only changing their traditional pattern but also becoming the "change agents" of the community.

Initially the concentration is on improving their agricultural management practices. These practices include better land preparation, improved seed and nursery maintenance, use of good seed (including appropriate improved varieties), seed treatment, timely operations, weeding, proper spacing of plants etc. Most of these non-monetary inputs can be followed even by small and marginal farmers and require little cash outlay. Thus by changing their traditional practices, these contact farmers will be able to motivate other farmers to follow new methods.

After improving their management practices, income of the average farmers will be higher and they will be financially better able to adopt more expensive practices (like the use of fertilizers) or new recommendations (like new varieties of cropping patterns). Even then, they have been advised to try these practices on a small piece of their land so that they can see the difference compared to their traditional pattern. This reduces the farmer's risk and hesitation. This gives them confidence in the extension system and they become good communication agents in the society.

Achievement of the Scheme

Under the Training and Visit System it is expected that contact farmers should be made aware of the system initially and through them the messages are expected to be disseminated among the non-contact farmers in course of time. It is found that 93% of the contact farmers and 64% of the non-contact farmers are aware of the scheme. But awareness is different from adoption.

With regard to getting messages from the village Extension Workers, it is noticed that around 74% of the contact farmers have received the message. Adoption rates of recommended practices for the paddy crop for example, are the following: Variety 94%, Seed Treatment 15%, Basal application 62%, Top dressing 96%, Plant protection measure with required concentration is 30%. Similarly the adoption rates vary for other crops.

It is also expected as a desirable quality of the contact farmer, to communicate the message to the other non-contact farmers. Thus a change is expected from the farming community, especially from the contact farmers, to function as "key communicators". But only about 57% of the contact farmers communicate the messages to other farmers.

Desirable changes in the agricultural practices are the expected outcome of the Training and Visit System. Since 86% of the farmers belong to the small and marginal category, greater attention is paid to low-monetary inputs and non-monetary inputs, so that they may be able to adopt them without much financial outlay, and see the appreciable changes.

"Spacing" is a non-monetary input but adoption is only around 40%. Similarly, adoption of application of plant protection measures, with required concentration, is only 30%. These clearly show that extension agency has to go a long way in motivating the farmers to change their traditional practices.

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8. THE CHANGING STATUS OF WOMEN IN INDIA: TASK SEGREGATION IN FARM FAMILIES

U.R.Kaliappan

The position of women is a focal theme of research for sociologists now. Studies that by and large focus on limited options for women in most societies are abundant. The physical advantages of men over women are used as a basis in developing a theory on the subordination of women. These advantages are incorporated into social structure. Through the process of socialization women and men learn to accept economic, familial and government institutions noted for their inequality (Malbin and Waehrer, 1972). Boserup (1975) traces the origin of the division of labour in the labour market to the division of labour within the family. Men's domination is sought to be explained on the basis of male control of strategic resources. The initial division of labour is thought to have arisen from the fact that women devoted most of their time to reproduction and subsistence activities (Sanday, 1974). Subsistence activities that could be easily integrated with reproduction and rearing of children were assigned to women while men took to prestigious jobs like hunting. Status distinction and male dominance arose from this division of work (Washburn and Lancaster, 1968; Steward, 1968). Emphasis on the role of hunting is, however, considered unjustified by Tanner and Zihlman (1976). They believe that only when man domesticated plants and animals, which permitted settlement, women's role became more restricted and the division of labour more firmly established (Zihlman and Tanner, 1978).

A number of studies have drawn correlations between the role of women in production and their status in society. It is often stated by Marxists that the integration of women into productive labour facilitates their equality in the legal, political and social arenas. According to Boserup (1970) withdrawal of women from active role in production occurs with a transition from swidden to plough agriculture, but

when land is irrigated and is intensively farmed, women become active participants again. The first and the last categories are associated with higher status of women. But the immense variety of customs in Asia conflict with the above (curvilinear) scheme pertaining to third irrigated stage. In spite of an active role, women in the lower socio-economic groups in North India and the landless in South India do not enjoy equality. Hence, Sanday (1973 and 1974) concludes that female production is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the development of female status.

It has been further suggested that women have lower status because their tasks are mainly subsistence-oriented while men work on cash crops (Boserup, 1970; Gelber, 1973). While it may be true in Africa, women in Asia have been associated with men in work on cash crops (Whyte and Whyte, 1982). According to Castillo (1976) it is not so much subsistence tasks as lack of ownership of the means of production which brings lower status to Filipino women. For Stoler (1977), productive relations are important for social power.

The historical-dialectical approach finds a high status for women in pre-industrial culture which deteriorates in industrial societies owing to the emergence of the dual economy based on use-value and market-value (Leacock, 1978; Gelber, 1973). Most household labour, assigned to women, remains in the pre-market stage. It is in the fact of assignment of household work as the function of a special category 'women' that 'we can find the basis for a definition of women' and 'the material basis for the inferior status of women is to be found in just this definition of women' (Benston, 1973: 121).

Sometimes, due to changes in the occupational structure brought about by modernization, women take up only those roles given up by men and hence tend to lag behind men.

The view that traces the lower female status to underparticipation or non-participation of women in productive activities has been put to vigorous testing. And as a result the wealth of information that has accumulated on women and development finds the traditional economic theory inadequate as it recognised only a productivity measured by such monetary indicators as the GNP. It works with descriptors which devalue or ignore all of the principal contributions of women to their societies and tends to misperceive the current role of women (Gelber, 1973; Boserup, 1970).

When one examines the full spectrum of productive activities carried out in societies world-wide, most of the production has taken place outside of the cash-based, GNP-measured sector of national economies, which Marx refers to as production for use-value rather than for market-value. Accordingly, the role of women needs a redefinition (Rihani, 1978; Brown, 1970; Polanyi, 1944; Boulding, 1977; Strathern, 1972). The triple role concept of "breeder-feeder-producer" gives us a proper profile of women in the total social division of labour. Care of humans of all ages at the family level is as important as producing food, and highly labour intensive too. Time budget studies have even shown that women work longer hours (INCCU, 1977; Harder, 1977; Whyte and Whyte, 1982; Dauber and Cain, 1981). Recent investigations on social indicators of development focus on health, education, nutrition, housing and political participation (Adelman and Morris, 1974).

Structural changes in the family are expected to take place universally and women would enhance their status. Goode (1963) predicts family organization everywhere to converge on the conjugal system, accompanying industrialization and urbanization. But he does not expect the general position of women to improve greatly without a radical reorganization of the social structure. According to Nuss (1981) there should be a radical redefinition of male role in households labour for such a basic structural change to occur. Reduction of inequality between sexes, then, requires not merely the integration of women into the production process but also the reduction of task segregation by sex in all major spheres. This implies reallocation of household chores between the sexes.

It is clear, then, that segregation of work contributes to inequality between sexes. The focus of this paper is to examine the patterns of segregation in the whole gamut of social division of labour. The spheres of crop farming, dairy, household maintenance, child care and income disposal are accounted for the analysis. The third world societies are experiencing increasing levels of industrialization and urbanization. It is worth understanding the direction and extent of change in the traditional partnership between men and women so that development policies would be so designed that fifty percent of human resources may not be left out. A comparison of the phenomenon of segregation in isolated and exposed rural communities would serve this purpose. This analysis deals with farm families in an industrially advanced district whose women have remained quite inconspicuous. Farm family is broadly defined as a

family that owns a farm and provides most of the management and financial resources for the operation of the farm.

Methodology

The investigation was carried out among Gounders, the numerically largest farming community in the region. The villages were purposively selected applying the criteria of distance from the industrial-urban centre, cropping pattern and farm size. Since it is appropriate that villages with similar characteristics be compared, relatively isolated and exposed villages with the same economic and social patterns are the focus of analysis. They are broadly similar with regard to place of dwelling, farm size, cropping pattern, family structure and irrigation facilities.

In isolated and less isolated villages about 86 per cent of the households live in their farm; the median farm size is 7.14 and 6.83 acres; sugarcane, cotton, banana and tobacco are the major crops; underground water lifted by electric pumpset is the only source of irrigation besides rains; nuclear families constitute 78 and 80 percent; and the median educational attainment for females aged 20-69 years is 2.85 and 3.19.

Exposed villages are differentiated from isolated ones on the basis of the fact that they come in close interaction with the urban-industrial city with a million population. Their location is about 5 miles and that of isolated villages ranges between 19 and 25 miles. Besides physical proximity, a considerable percentage of men from farm as well as non-farm families have found employment in the industries, who commute daily from their village bringing back new values and attitudes.

Data for the study were collected in July-December of 1983 from 144 farm women in isolated villages and 149 in less isolated ones of Coimbatore district in the State of Tamilnadu, India. Respondents were personally interviewed with a schedule.

The index of segregation is based on that developed by Duncan and Duncan (1955: 210-217) and used by Gross (1968) to measure the segregation of women in the occupational structure over time. The index, calculated as the sum of the absolute difference between the proportion of males and females in each task in each household, divided by two, is interpreted as "percentage of females (or males) who would have to change occupations in order that the

distribution of sexes in tasks would be the same" (Gross, 1968: 202). For this analysis, the index of segregation examines differences between isolated and less isolated villages for tasks in spheres of crop production, dairy, family maintenance, child care and income disposal. The index with a positive sign denotes excessive participation by men and hence it has to be reallocated to women to make the participation equal between the sexes. A negative index indicates that women surpass in the task which has to be shifted to men. The highest possible index is .5.

RESULTS

Crop Production

The participation of farm women in the exposed communities is significantly higher in the overall crop production process than of women in isolated villages. Table-1 shows a segregation index of .04 for the former and .15 for the latter. While in the exposed sample, 10 tasks out of 18 are male segregated and 7 tasks are female segregated; there are 15 tasks in the first category and only 3 tasks in the second category in isolated sample.

Ploughing is the only task that is totally male segregated in both the groups. Transporting farmyard manure to the field and furrowing are two other traditionally male activities with very high segregation. It is worth noting that women in less isolated villages take a more active part in the two modern functions of applying chemical manure (index zero) and plant protection (index.10) along with traditional roles. It can be concluded that women in exposed villages are more active and less segregated in crop farming than are women in isolated rural communities.

TABLE 1: SEGREGATION OF CROP PRODUCTION TASKS

Task	Index of Segregation	
	Isolated Villages	Less isolated villages
Ploughing	.5	.5
Transporting farmyard manure	.44	.48
Furrowing	.44	.42
Sowing	.06	-.03
Transplanting	.34	-.36
Irrigation	.28	.27

Task	Index of Segregation	
	Isolated Villages	Less isolated villages
Chemical manuring	.24	0
Plant protection	.28	.10
Weeding	-.11	-.27
Hoeing	.31	.34
Harvest	.01	-.19
Carrying to yard	.10	.02
Threshing	.17	.21
Winnowing	.13	-.31
Stacking hay	.27	.21
Processing & drying	.11	.02
Storage	.11	-.01
Seed Preservation	-.32	-.20
All tasks	.15	.04

Table-2 illuminates that women in isolated and less isolated villages are more or less on par with men in their participation in animal care. The former households have a positive (+.02) and the latter ones have a negative (-.03) segregation index. Yet both the indices are not significant nor do they significantly differ from each other. Regarding the specific tasks, women surpass in grazing sheep and goats (-.18) and in cleaning cattleshed (-.04) in isolated communities, whereas they exceed considerably in grazing cattle (-.21) and very marginally (-.02) in cleaning the yard in less isolated communities. No index is given for grazing sheep and goats for the latter, since most families do not rear them.

TABLE 2: SEGREGATION OF ANIMAL CARE TASKS

Task	Segregation Index	
	Isolated Villages	Less Isolated Villages
Grazing Cattle	.06	-.21
Stall feeding	.15	.03
Milking	.13	.08
Grazing sheep/goats	-.18	--
Upkeep of cattleshed	-.04	-.02
All tasks	.02	-.03

An examination of the segregation by sex for various family maintenance tasks in table-3 shows that there are no significant differences in the indicators for the two samples. However, the highest segregation is found in this arena, the indices being -.42 and -.44 for the isolated and less isolated groups. Cooking, cleaning the house, dish washing and washing clothes have a segregation index which is almost total in both samples and there is no inter-group difference. With regard to parboiling, there is a marginally greater segregation (-.47) in the isolated group than in the less isolated (-.44).

The indices for the task of fetching water show considerable difference. A comparatively lower index (-.24) noticed for the second group has some special connotation which may not reflect a general trend. There is a heavy reliance for drinking water on a public tap supplying protected water as the local wells are invariably brackish. The tap is provided on the highway about two miles from these settlements. Men commonly use the bicycle for this purpose, since 94 percent of the households have this mode of transport. In a handful of households young unmarried girls, who got used to cycling while in school, perform this work. No married woman has stated to be riding bicycle as there are norms prescribing it.

Men in isolated villages have more participation in fetching fuel and hence their women are less segregated (-.17) while women in exposed communities are highly segregated (-.44). Fuel material is collected only from the family

TABLE 3: SEGREGATION OF HOUSEHOLD MAINTENANCE TASKS

Task	Segregation Index: Isolated Villages	Segregation Index: Less isolated Villages
Parboiling	-.47	-.44
Cooking	-.49	-.49
House cleaning	-.49	-.49
Dish washing	-.49	-.49
Washing clothes	-.47	-.48
Fetching water	-.39	-.24
Fetching fuel	-.17	-.44
All tasks	-.42	-.44

farm, unlike among the landless who go in search of shrubs in public waste lands. Women were of the view that even in the recent past men used to take an interest and lopped of a few big branches while trimming trees for green manure for rice fields. Thus men were taking care of fuel requirements while engaged in basically farm production tasks. The percent of households cultivating paddy even for consumption has declined to about 9 percent in exposed villages due to various reasons. They find it easier to get rice from the market. When fuel collection is delinked from traditionally male tasks, men seem to have given up their former contribution to fuel collection.

Child Care

The situation of women in isolated and less isolated villages is not distinct as the same overall segregation index in child care is obtained for both (-.18). Among the three specific tasks in table-4, women account for the entire basic child care. The respective indices of -.5 and -.47 indicate extreme segregation of women in this task. The indices for medical care of infants and young children (-.02 and -.07) apparently look negligible. However men's role in this domain is very much confined. They escort their wives who carry ailing children while visiting the modern allopathic medical practitioners outside the community. Regular care of the sick falls only on women. The participation is really equal in supervision of children's studies, though most parents, being illiterate or just literate, may not be able to help in their studies.

TABLE 4: SEGREGATION OF CHILD CARE ACTIVITIES

Task	Segregation Index: Isolated Villages	Segregation Index: Less isolated Villages
Basic child care	-.50	-.50
Medical care	-.02	-.04
Supervision of studies	-.03	.0
All tasks	-.18	-.18

Income Disposal

It is apparent from table-5 that there is no difference between the overall indices of segregation in income disposing

activities. Yet the indices indicate a high level of segregation (.32). The highest task segregation is observed for procuring agricultural inputs followed by marketing farm produces and financial management. Even though relatively less task segregation is noticed for the activities of shopping consumables and shopping durables in both samples, we have to emphasize the fact that these two tasks are reported to have been traditionally a female job. A marginally higher segregation for shopping consumables in favour of men in exposed communities is reported to be because of frequent visits by their men to nearby urban centre.

TABLE 5: SEGREGATION OF INCOME DISPOSING TASKS

Task	Index of segregation	
	Isolated Villages	Less isolated Villages
Marketing produces	.42	.44
Procuring inputs	.46	.47
Financial management	.35	.28
Shopping consumables	.20	.23
Shopping durables	.18	.19
All tasks	.32	.32

DISCUSSION

The segregation indices for 5 different spheres show that the contribution of women in exposed villages is substantially greater in crop farming and moderately higher in animal husbandry than of women in isolated communities. It is marginally higher in family maintenance tasks while it is on par in child care and income disposal.

The proposition by Epstein and Harder that women predominate in dairying is not supported by data from either of the samples in the present study. The share of women in this field is 53 percent in less isolated, and 43 percent in isolated villages.

It is also obvious that while women in less isolated villages have a higher participation in crop farming and in animal husbandry than in isolated communities,family maintenance activities remain highly and equally segregated in both groups. If we consider the higher female participation

in production tasks as a function of the modern influences of industrialization and urbanization, the resulting changes have been asymmetrical in the sense that women tend to enter into traditionally male tasks, while traditionally female tasksremain as segregated as they have been.

How are the above findings to be viewed in terms of the position of women? From the point of view of greater access to productive work, it amounts to improvement in the status. On the other hand, it may be viewed as worsening of their status as they are deprived of free time, leisure and so on.

The profile of farm women in less isolated villages differs a little, if it has not changed fundamentally. They do not differ in their access to resources as indicated by the level of educational attainment and agricultural training. The absence of modern education and skills presents a barrier to their entry into modern occupations. While men look for alternative opportunities elsewhere, women tend to assume more resources at their disposal, farm women may experience still greater deprivation since their work becomes relatively valueless as their men enter into more 'prestigious' modern occupations.

Level of farm mechanization is similar in both samples. All irrigation wells are fitted with electrically operated pumpsets and power sprayer is used for plant protection. Mechanization has not proceeded beyond this. Hence, the variation in female participation between the groups cannot be explained by this factor.

Mention may be made about the factors contributing to a low participation in income disposal irrespective of the level of exposure to modernization. The respondents were unanimous that women had a predominant role in shopping for consumables as well as household durables, while men monopolised marketing of produces and buying farm inputs.

Rural women used to have some autonomous sources of income. The limited income accruing from petty sale proceeds of dairy products, eggs and vegetables was maintained by women. Today women are deprived of this income as only a limited proportion of households, particularly in the exposed communities, rear livestock. Even when milch animals are maintained, milk is sold to the private milk trader or to co-operative societies on a regular basis. Milk products do not find a place in their economy. Income obtained

by selling milk goes to the family purse managed by men. Small vegetable plots have practically disappeared. When vegetables are cultivated on a large scale, it is the men who are involved in transactions.

Commercial economy has introduced many changes in the market network. There were times when tradesmen moving from village to village catered to the requirements of various consumable and durable goods at the doorstep. Women bought them from their savings or by borrowing from neighbours which would be reimbursed from the family pool. Women also went to the weekly market and carried the provisions and vegetables in a bamboo-split basket on their head which the present generation shuns and tends to withdraw voluntarily.

The bicycle is found to have played a vital role in the redistribution of these roles to men. Farm families invariably have one or more than one bicycle which is accessible only to men while women are customarily deprived of this modern transport technology. Married women, particularly, are not permitted to cycle.

Changing family structure also seems to have added to the acceleration of the redefinition of roles. Nuclear family, the common system of family organization at present, does not permit the regular outing by women at least for half a day every week for marketing. All children, male as well as female, of school age, are in school in both samples. Hence, care of preschool children cannot be entrusted to them. Nor are there old women to assist in most conjugal families. In joint family, when it was the ideal pattern, any one of the married women could always be spared for shopping.

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9. IRRIGATION, AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

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Introduction

'Economic development and social change' in traditional societies has been an area of concern of social scientists, since the process of decolonization. This has been the subject of a number of studies and seminars.[1] However, after the initial thrust in the fifties and the sixties, there was a waning of interest. In the seventies, the phenomenon of rapid increase in agricultural productivity achieved through the introduction of High Yielding Variety (HYV) seeds, chemical fertilizers and related technology, generally referred to as the "Green Revolution", provided a fillip to studies on economic development and social change. India is one of the countries where the Green Revolution had made an impact, and there were a number of studies on the social consequences of the Green Revolution related to this country. Unlike the concern of the earlier scholars who studied the impact of economic development, the interest of scholars who studied the social impact of Green Revolution was mainly with the differential benefit of increased agricultural production.[2] This concern with the so-called "inequitable distribution of the benefits" led many to perceive the Green Revolution as a villain which has impoverished the poor in rural areas and created inequality, social disequilibrium and tensions in an otherwise placid and egalitarian community.[3]

The approach of the scholars who earlier studied the impact of economic development, particularly of industrialization, on social life was on general principles like division of labour, social differentiation, social integration, and urbanization.[4] It was shown that one of the immediate impacts of economic development was increasing division of labour, finally leading to structural differentiation and reorganization. Increasing activities in any sector lead to transformation

of a multifunctional role-structure into several specialized structures. The process of structural differentiation whereby one social role or organization differentiates into two or more roles or organizations, which function more effectively in the new historical circumstances, results in increased division of labour and the appearance of more and more new occupations. The increasing differentiation leads also to an increase in the number of roles that a particular individual plays in the society.[5]

Economic development and concomitant social differentiation have their impact on social institutions. With it, many kinds of economic activities carried on within the family get transferred to other sectors, leaving it to take increasing care of its core functions. At the same time, the increasing wealth generated in the process of development enables its beneficiaries to evolve a pattern of living that is increasingly in conformity with the institutionalized values of the society.

With increase in economic activities and occupational specialization, the pattern of social relations changes. Exchange relations are replaced by market relations based on universalistic and functionally specific relations. The introduction of new technology, increasing control over nature, functional specificity, etc., bring about a normative orientation emphasising values like universalism, functional specificity and rationality.[6]

There can be thus different concerns of the social impact of economic development. The study reported here is an attempt to understand the social impact of economic development set in motion through the introduction of canal irrigation, more particularly, its impact on occupational structure, employment of women and children, social mobility and beliefs and values. The study area is in Sambalpur district of Orissa state.

Methodology

The approach in the present study was to do a comparative analysis of the features of the social structure of two areas, having differing levels of economic development. With this in view, Attabira and Rengali blocks in Sambalpur district were selected. These blocks are located on highways about 20-25 miles from Sambalpur town and are also connected by train. The two areas have similar physiography. Since early sixties, Attabira has come under the command area of Hirakud irrigation project, with an elaborate canal network

irrigating the fields both during kharif and rabi seasons. Further, since 1961, the Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) was taken up in Attabira and surrounding areas, and this gave a further fillip to agricultural development in the area. But Rengali block is outside Hirakud command area, and its agriculture is still dependent upon rain and, naturally, has a stagnant economy.

A two-stage random sampling procedure was followed in the selection of the sample. At the first stage of the selection of the sample, the villages in each block were serially numbered and 10 per cent of the villages were randomly selected with the help of random numbers. At the second stage, the adult population in the selected villages in each of the block was listed and serially numbered. This was done with the help of the voters list prepared for the parliamentary election of 1980. As the sample for each block was set to be 100, the required numbers were selected randomly from the voters list of each village, proportionate to the population of each village. The selected persons were listed and interviewed at their residence during December, 1979. Interviews with female respondents were mostly answered by adult males.

The Background

Sambalpur district, located in the north-western part of Orissa, lies between 20°43' N and 22°11' N latitudes and between 82°39' and 85°13' longitudes.

Agriculture is the main economic activity in the district. Agriculture, particularly cultivation of paddy, received an impetus with the building of Hirakud Irrigation-cum-Electricity project. It has a potential command area of 1.3 million acres, and an irrigable area of 0.9 million acres, located mainly in Sambalpur district. With the construction of the Hirakud project, canal irrigation replaced tanks as the main source of irrigation.

Creation of irrigation facilities and other natural facilities led to the introduction of IADP in Sambalpur in 1961. This led to intensification of agriculture, introduction of HYV seeds and related package of practices, and resultant increase in agricultural productivity. Sambalpur became a large centre of production and export of rice in Orissa, stimulating the process of economic growth. However, as the primary source of this development was irrigation, the prosperity created through it was largely confined to irrigated areas. In non-irrigated areas like Rengali, agriculture is

still dependent upon rain, limiting the opportunity to set in motion a process of growth as in the irrigated areas. The differential growth in the irrigated and non-irrigated areas has led to differential impact on social structure. Before discussing the variation, we may have a brief picture of the characteristics of the respondents from Attabira (Irrigated block) and Rengali (Non-irrigated block).

The Respondents

The sample consists of 100 respondents from Attabira and 100 respondents from Rengali. Except for one among the latter, all are Hindus. Among the 100 respondents from Attabira, eight are Brahmins, one Kshatriya, 44 Vysyas, 21 Sudras, 25 Harijans and one Tribal. Among the 100 Rengali respondents, two are Brahmins, one Kshatriya, 51 Vysyas, 6 Sudras, 14 Harijans and 25 Tribals. The larger proportion of Harijans in Attabira and the larger proportion of Tribals in Rengali deserve notice.

The average age of the respondents from Attabira and Rengali was 38.7 and 48.2 years respectively. In terms of education, 30 per cent of the former and 33 per cent of the latter are illiterate; fourteen per cent of Attabira respondents and 5 per cent of Rengali have high school education. Cultivation is the main occupation of 70 per cent of Attabira respondents and 66 per cent of Rengali respondents; 8 per cent of the Attabira respondents and 24 per cent of Rengali respondents are agricultural labourers. The average family size of the Attabira and Rengali respondents is 5.8 and 4.6 respectively.

The average size of landholding of Attabira and Rengali respondents is 4.2 and 2.8 acres respectively. Of the 4.2 acres in Attabira, 3.8 acres are irrigated. In Rengali, almost all land is non-irrigated. The distribution of land is unequal in both areas. Twentytwo (22) respondents in Attabira and 32 in Rengali are landless without even housesites. In Attabira, apart from the 22 landless respondents, 30 owned less than two acres of irrigated land; and only six owned more than 10 acres of irrigated land. In Rengali, 22 owned less than two acres of land and three owned more than 10 acres.

Agricultural Production

Paddy, the main crop, is cultivated during kharif and rabi in Attabira; but in Rengali only kharif crop is cultivated. Except for patches of vegetables cultivated in kitchen gardens, paddy is the only crop cultivated by the respondents. During kharif, 73 respondents in Attabira and 70 in Rengali

cultivated paddy. During rabi, it was cultivated by 60 respondents in Attabira, and by none in Rengali.

Activities for kharif cultivation usually begin in June with the setting in of the South-East monsoon. Sowing is by broadcast; but improved cultural practices like transplantation are spreading. Harvesting of kharif crop takes place between October and December. This is immediately followed by the sowing of rabi crop (between October and December), which is harvested during April-May. Thus, canal irrigation extended the period of agriculture and made it an around-the-year activity, providing opportunity for better utilization of natural and human resources.

TABLE 1 :CROP PRODUCTION IN ATTABIRA AND RENGALI DURING KHARIF AND RABI SEASONS

Characteristics	Attabira	Rengali
I Kharif		
1. Number of respondents cultivating kharif crop	73	70
2. Average output of paddy per acre (quintals)	12	4
3. Average amount realised per farmer through sale of surplus paddy (Rs.)	2,380	436
II Rabi		
1. No. of respondents cultivating rabi crop	61	--
2. Average output of paddy per acre (quintals)	13	--
3. Average amount realised per farmer through sale of rabi paddy (Rs.)	4,467	--

Details of crop production of Attabira and Rengali, given in Table 1, would give an idea of the impact of irrigation on agricultural production. The average output of paddy is 12 quintals in Attabira as against 4 quintals in Rengali. Because of the absence of a second crop, there is no major

agricultural activity in Rengali during rabi season; but in Attabira agricultural activity during rabi is as strong as during the kharif season. The productivity of rabi crop in Attabira is 13 quintals per acre, which is marginally higher than the average production in kharif season. The average annual output of paddy in Attabira is six times more than that in Rengali.

Multiple cropping and increase in productivity enabled farmers to produce more than what is required for their domestic consumption. In Attabira only 22 out of the 73 (30 per cent) farmers who cultivated paddy did not have surplus for sale; but in Rengali out of 70 farmers who cultivated paddy, as many as 54 (77 per cent) did not have any surplus for sale. While a market for rabi product did not exist in Rengali, in Attabira 44 (73 per cent) out of 60 farmers who cultivated paddy sold more than half of their produce; and another 10 farmers sold 21-50 per cent of their output. The average surplus paddy sold by farmers during kharif season was 78 quintals in Attabira and 16 quintals in Rengali; and they realised an average amount of Rs.2,380 (Attabira) and Rs.436 (Rengali) during kharif. During rabi, Attabira farmers realised an average amount of Rs.4,458 per farmer through sale of grains.

The amount of paddy sold by farmers was cross-checked against the size of their holdings and their total assets. In Attabira, it was those farmers who owned two acres of land or more, or who owned assets worth Rs.20,000 or more, who had surplus paddy. As could be expected, the average quantity of paddy sold by farmers increased with the size of their landholdings--53 quintals by those who owned 3-4 acres; 81 quintals by farmers with 5-6 acres; 116 quintals by farmers with 7-8 acres and 149 quintals by those with more than nine acres. In Rengali, no such consistent relation is noticed between the size of a farmer's holding and the quantity of grain sold by him. Out of 16 farmers who sold grains, nine had less than six acres. It is likely that these farmers might have sold the grain to meet some urgent need rather than because of "surplus" grain.

The higher output in Attabira has been achieved through the larger use of various inputs in addition to water. The average cost per acre of inputs like fertilizers, insecticides, etc., in Attabira and Rengali was Rs.375 and Rs.133 respectively; and the average cost of cultivation of an acre was Rs.712 in Attabira and Rs.271 in Rengali. With availability of canal irrigation, agriculture became intensive, and led to several-fold increase in production.

Income

Information was obtained on the household incomes of the respondents (Table 2). The average monthly household income of the respondents from Attabira and Rengali was Rs.492 and Rs.360 respectively. The higher income of Attabira conforms to the higher productivity of agriculture there. There earnings of 22 households in Attabira and 45 in Rengali were Rs.300 and less a month.

Occupational Structure

In order to have an understanding of the impact of economic development on occupational structure, enquiry was made into (1) the requirement of labour for different tasks involved in paddy cultivation, and the sources through which these tasks were performed: and (2) the occupation in

TABLE 2 : NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN ATTABIRA AND RENGALI WITH DIFFERENT LEVELS OF MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Levels of Income (Rs.)	Attabira (N=100)	Rengali (N=100)
1-100	3	2
101-200	6	18
201-300	13	25
301-400	30	20
401-500	12	21
501-1000	33	14
1001-1500	2	-
1501-2000	1	-
Total	100	100
Average Income (Rs.)	492	360

which different members of household were engaged, either as the principal occupation, or as a subsidiary one.

Participation in Agricultural Production

The important tasks involved in the cultivation of paddy are preparation of soil, sowing and transplantation, weeding, irrigation, application of fertilizers and pesticides, harvesting

and threshing, and transportation of the grain. Information was collected on the extent of labour used for ploughing and related preparatory work, sowing and transplantation, inter-cultural operations of spraying fertilizers and pesticides, irrigation, harvesting and threshing, and transportation of produce. The per-acre labour required for the tasks during kharif season is given in Table 3. Among the five tasks enquired, sowing and transplantation, harvesting and threshing, and ploughing and related preparatory work required large doses of labour.

TABLE 3 : AVERAGE MAN-DAYS OF LABOUR REQUIRED PER ACRE FOR DIFFERENT TASKS IN ATTABIRA AND RENGALI

Tasks	Attabira	Rengali
1 Ploughing and related preparatory work	7.3	7.5
2. Sowing and transplantation	15.5	14.7
3. Spraying of fertilizers and pesticides, and irrigation	3.6	2.9
4. Harvesting and threshing	8.6	7.7
5. Transportation of produce	5.5	1.1
Total	40.5	33.9

The requirement of labour for all operations except ploughing, is larger in Attabira. Some ploughing is done with tractors there (33 out of 73 farmers) but it was not so in Rengali. It may be noted that in Attabira, as many as 5.5 labour days are required for transporting the produce of an acre from the field to the household, while only 1.1 labour days are required for the same task in Rengali.

For the five important tasks listed, the average use of labour per acre was 40.5 in Attabira and 33.9 in Rengali. Assuming 25 per cent additional use of labour for tasks not listed, the total use of labour in Attabira is likely to be about 45 labour days, and in Rengali about 37 labour days, for the cultivation of an acre of kharif paddy.

In the absence of cultivation of rabi crop in Rengali, labour force was not much in demand there. But, in Attabira, as many as 60 among the 73 farmers, cultivated a second paddy crop, creating corresponding work opportunities. The average requirement of man-days for the cultivation of an acre of rabi crop is 81 days--almost double the requirement of labour for kharif crop. Thus, the introduction of canal irrigation led to a substantial increase in the requirement of labour in agricultural production.

Table 4 gives details of the type, sex, source and quantity of labour used for the major operations. Except for a certain amount of ploughing done with tractors in Attabira, almost all agricultural tasks are done through human labour in both the blocks. Ploughing and other preparatory tasks and inter-cultural operations àre done through family labour only by 58 and 60 farmer respondents, respectively, out of the 70 farmer-respondents in Rengali; but only 41 and 37 out of the 70 farmer-respondents do works connected with sowing, transplantation and harvesting through family labour. In Attabira, the tasks of ploughing and inter-culturing are done through family labour only by 31 and 33 out of the 73 farmer-respondents; but the tasks of sowing, transplantation and harvesting are done through family labour only by 9 and 12 out of the 73 farmer-respondents. Thus, in both areas the use of family labour is less in translplantation and harvesting.

Along with the reduction in the use of family labour from sowing, transplanting, and harvesting, there has been an increase in the use of hired labour in these tasks. The decline in the use of family labour in Attabira, where there has been an increase in the requirement of labour. indicates that with improvement in economic conditions there has been a withdrawal of the use of family labour from agriculture. Further, the fact that the use of family labour is lower for sowing, transplantation and harvesting indicates that withdrawal of family labour has been more from these occupations.

Sex of Labour

Analysis of work force, by sex, doing different agricultural tasks indicates a certain amount of division of labour between men and women. Ploughing and other preparatory tasks and work connected with inter-culture are generally done by men. On the other hand, tasks connected with sowing, transplantation and harvesting are done by both men and women.

TABLE 4 : DETAILS OF TYPE, SEX AND SOURCE OF LABOUR USED FOR VARIOUS AGRICULTURAL TASKS

Categories	Ploughing and preparation of field		Sowing and transplantation		Interculture		Harvesting	
	Attabira	Rengali	Attabira	Rengali	Attabira	Rengali	Attabira	Rengali
Type of labour								
1. Family	31	58	49	41	33	60	12	37
2. Hired	19	4	24	9	34	7	21	9
3. Family and hired	23	8	40	20	6	3	40	24
4. Not applicable	27	30	27	30	27	30	27	30
Sex of Labour								
1. Male	71	70	6	10	63	70	6	14
2. Female	--	--	1	--	--	--	7	56
3. Both	2	--	66	60	10	--	60	--
4. Not applicable	27	30	27	30	27	30	27	30
Source of Labour								
1. Local	45	37	11	38	11	38	9	40
2. Migrant	3	--	3	--	3	--	2	--
3. Both	12	--	54	--	54	--	56	--
4. Not applicable	40	63	32	63	32	62	33	60

Occupational Differentiation

A second set of data used to study the impact of economic development on occupational structure was information on the occupations followed by different members in the households of the respondents. In all, there are 463 persons in the 100 households in Rengali, and 538 in the 100 households in Attabira. In Rengali, 80 per cent of the persons are in productive work, 3 per cent in domestic work and 17 per cent in none. Compared with these, among the 538 persons in Attabira, 53 per cent are engaged in productive work; 14 per cent in domestic work, and 33 per cent in none. Thus, with economic development,

there is a reduction in the size of the work force, and a corresponding expansion in the size of non-workers. Further analysis in terms of age and sex of the work force would give an idea as to how this is happening.

In Table 5, a broad distribution of all the persons in the households of the respondents in Attabira and Rengali in terms of their sex and age (young: 15years and less; adults: 16-60 years; and old: 61 and more) are given. Among the 538 persons in Attabira, 165 (30 per cent) are young; but among them only three are in the labour force, and the remaining are not engaged in work. Thus, almost all children are outside the work force in Attabira. In Rengali, 107 (23 per cent) out of a population of 463 are children, but unlike in Attabira, 26 (one-fourth) of them are in the work force. Children constitute 7 per cent of the total work force in Rengali. Similar is the proportion of old persons in the work force. While in Attabira among the 16 old persons only six are in the work force, in Rengali among the seven old persons five are in the labour force; the remaining two are outside the work force due to physical handicap and inability to do any work, rather than due to voluntary withdrawal. Thus, with economic development and increased family incomes, the young and the old, particularly the former, are withdrawn from the labour force.

Sex-wise, among the 335 workers in Rengali, 182 (54 per cent) are men and 153 (46 per cent) women; only 14 women are outside the work force. Among the 279 workers in Attabira, 184 (66 per cent) are men and 94 (34 per cent) women; and as many as 78 out of the 165 women are outside the labour force. Thus, with increase in economic development, there has been withdrawal of adult females also from the work force. However, it should be noticed that women still constitute an important segment of the work force in Attabira; but it can be expected that with continued economic development, their numbers will substantially come down.

Domestic work is the exclusive domain of women in both areas. However, among the 223 females in Rengali, only 16 (7 per cent) are extensively engaged in domestic work; and among 167 adult women, only 14 (8 per cent) are in domestic work and the remaining 92 per cent in the work force. But in Attabira, a significant proportion of females are engaged in domestic work; they formed half of the 10 old females, and 41 per cent of the adult females. The ascendancy of such an occupational group indicates that with economic development the needs of family members increased and more and more persons, particularly women, have to be engaged in the fulfilment of those needs.

TABLE 5 : NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION AMONG PRODUCTIVE WORKERS, DOMESTIC WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS, AGE AND SEX-WISE

Age	Area	Productive Work			Domestic Work			Not engaged in work			Total		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Young (15 years and less)	Attabira	2	1	3	--	2	2	86	74	160	88	77	165
		(0)	(0)	(1)		(0)	(0)	(16)	(14)	(30)	(16)	(14)	(30)
	Rengali	17	9	26	--	2	2	37	42	79	54	53	107
		(4)	(2)	(6)		(0)	(0)	(8)	(9)	(17)	(12)	(11)	(23)
Adult (16-60 years)	Attabira	185	94	279	--	68	68	7	3	10	192	165	357
		(34)	(17)	(51)		(13)	(13)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(36)	(31)	(67)
	Rengali	182	153	335	--	14	14	--	--	--	182	167	349
		(40)	(33)	(73)		(3)	(3)	--	--	--	(39)	(36)	(75)
Old (61 years and more)	Attabira	3	3	6	--	5	5	3	2	5	6	10	16
		(1)	(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Rengali	3	2	5	--	--	--	(1)	1	(2)	4	(3)	7
		(1)	(0)	(1)			--	(0)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(2)
Total	Attabira	190	98	288	--	75	75	96	79	175	286	252	538
		(35)	(18)	(53)		(14)	(14)	(18)	(15)	(33)	(53)	(47)	(100)
	Rengali	202	164	366	--	16	16	38	43	81	240	233	463
		(44)	(35)	(99)		(3)	(3)	(8)	(9)	(17)	(52)	(48)	(100)

Note: Figures in brackets are percentages

The characteristics of persons "not engaged in work" in the two areas may be examined. In Rengali, only 81 (17 per cent) among the 463 persons are not engaged in any work; and as many as 79 among them are children, and the remaining two are old and physically handicapped persons. On the other hand, in Attabira out of 538 persons, as many as 175 (33 per cent) are non-workers. Among these, 160 are children, five old, seven adult males and three adult females. Thus, with economic development, there is an increase in the size of non-workers. This group, though primarily comprises children, old and females among adults, has also a few adult males in it.

The main occupations of the respondents in Attabira and Rengali, respectively are: cultivation 70 and 60 persons; agricultural labour 10 and 27; basket-making 3 each; weaving 6 and 0; mechanic 2 and 0; trade 5 and 0; service 3 and 0; and traditional and cultural occupations (priests, barbers, etc.) 1 and 4. There are more occupations in Attabira than in Rengali, indicating the emergence of greater division of labour, and diversification of occupational structure with economic development.

In Table 6, the number and percentage of persons in different occupations are given in terms of their age and sex. Among the 288 workers in Attabira, 61 per cent are cultivators; 16 per cent agricultural labour; 14 per cent domestic manufacturers like weavers and cane workers; 4 per cent each are engaged in trade and in service; and 1 per cent in traditional services. Clubbing them into broader sectors, 77 per cent are in the primary sector as cultivators and agricultural labourers; 14 per cent in the secondary sector (manufacturing activity); and 9 per cent in tertiary sector, engaged in services. In Rengali, 89 per cent of the workers are in the primary sector of agricultural production; 8 per cent in the secondary sector of manufacturing, and 3 per cent in the tertiary sector. It must be mentioned that the 4 per cent of workers who are engaged in manufacturing in Rengali are mostly engaged in making beedi, mainly for outside market. In the absence of any demand for goods and services, trade and commerce are nominal in Rengali. Thus, compared with Attabira, in undeveloped Rengali the secondary and tertiary sectors are poorly developed.

Subsidiary occupations are followed mainly by adults. The important subsidiary occupations available in Attabira are cultivation, agricultural labour and trade. Many are hawkers, carrying merchandise worth Rs.20-30 on their heads and selling them to villagers. Even such petty traders are few in Rengali.

TABLE 6 : NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS IN ATTABIRA AND RENGALI ENGAGED IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS, AGE AND SEX-WISE

		Cultivation		Agricultural labour		Weaving and Cane work		Wood Sellers		Beedi-Manufacturers		Business		Service		Cultural or Traditional		Total Sex-wise		Total Workers
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Main occupation																				
Young	Attabira	2 (1)	1 (0)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2 (1)	1 (0)	3 (1)
	Rengali	10 (3)	4 (1)	6 (2)	5 (1)	--	--	--	--	--	1 (0)	--	--	--	--	--	--	17 (5)	9 (2)	26 (7)
Adult	Attabira	107 (37)	59 (21)	31 (11)	15 (5)	24 (9)	16 (6)	--	--	--	--	10 (3)	4 (1)	10 (3)	--	3 (1)	--	195 (64)	94 (64)	279 (97)
	Rengali	113 (31)	94 (26)	42 (11)	46 (13)	--	--	4 (1)	4 (1)	14 (4)	8 (2)	4 (1)	2 (0)	3 (1)	--	2 (1)	--	182 (50)	153 (42)	335 (92)
Old	Attabira	2 (1)	3 (1)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1 (0)	--	--	3 (1)	3 (1)	6 (2)
	Rengali	2 (1)	1 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		--	--	3 (1)	2 (1)	5 (1)
Total	Attabira	111 (39)	63 (22)	31 (11)	15 (5)	24 (8)	16 (6)	--	--	--	--	10 (3)	4 (1)	11 (4)	--	3 (1)	--	190 (66)	98 (34)	288 (100)
	Rengali	125 (34)	99 (28)	49 (13)	52 (14)	--	--	4 (1)	4 (1)	15 (4)	8 (2)	4 (1)	1 (1)	3 (1)	--	2 (1)	--	202 (55)	164 (45)	366 (100)
Subsidiary Occupation:																				
Young	Attabira	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	Rengali	--	--	4 (4)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4 (4)	--	4 (4)
Adult	Attabira	19 (15)	7 (6)	51 (42)	24 (20)	2 (2)	2 (2)	--	--	--	--	10 (8)	2 (2)	--	--	3 (3)	--	85 (71)	35 (29)	120 (100)
	Rengali	7 (6)	1 (1)	47 (41)	38 (33)	--	--	7 (6)	2 (2)	3 (4)	1 (1)	3 (3)	--	--	--	--	--	68 (59)	42 (37)	110 (96)
Old	Attabira	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	Rengali	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	Attabira	19 (15)	7 (6)	51 (42)	24 (20)	2 (2)	2 (2)	--	--	--	--	10 (8)	2 (2)	--	--	3 (3)	--	35 (71)	35 (29)	120 (100)
	Rengali	7 (6)	1 (1)	51 (44)	38 (33)	--	--	7 (6)	2 (2)	4 (4)	1 (1)	3 (3)	--	--	--	--	--	72 (63)	42 (37)	114 (100)

In Attabira, young and old persons are mainly engaged in cultivation which involves working in one's own field; but in Rengali, a number of young and old also work as agricultural labourers.

The pattern of distribution of adult males and females among different occupations reveals that the proportion of women in the primary sector is more than in secondary and tertiary sectors, in both Attabira and Rengali. Further, while the proportions of men and women in cultivation and agricultural labour are more or less similar in Rengali, there is considerable variation in this respect in Attabira, with women's share being much less than that of men.

On the basis of the above discussion the following conclusions may be drawn. Economic development leads to a rise in the number of new occupations and greater division of labour. With development, there has been a reduction in the size of the work force resulting mainly through the withdrawal, first of the children, and then of the old and the women, from the work force. Corresponding to the decrease in the size of the work force, there is an expansion of domestic workers (looking after the needs of family members) and of non-workers (persons not involved in any work). With economic development there has been an expansion of the secondary and tertiary sectors, and transfer of workers from the primary sector to the secondary and tertiary sectors.

Occupation and Income

The total household incomes generated by all Attabira workers is Rs.50,475, and Rs.35, 425 by Rengali workers. The income generated per worker is Rs.97 in Rengali, and Rs.175 in Attabira. The per worker earning in Rengali is only 55 per cent of the earning of a worker in Attabira.

In Table 7, the contribution to total earnings made by young, adult and old male and female workers from cultivation, agricultural labour and other occupations are given. Out of the income of Rs.50,475 in Attabira, 52 per cent is from cultivation, 22 per cent from agricultural labour and 26 percent from other occupations (secondary and tertiary sectors). Compared with this, in Rengali, 59 per cent of the earnings is from cultivation, 30 per cent from agricultural labour and 11 per cent from other occupations. In Attabira, the proportion of income from non-agricultural sector (other occupations) is larger than its share in Rengali; but in Rengali, the proportion of income from cultivation and agricultural

TABLE 7 : AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF THE EARNINGS MADE BY ALL WORKERS IN TERMS OF THEIR AGE, SEX AND OCCUPATION

Source of income and categories	Earnings from all occupations (in Rs.)					
	Male		Female		Total	
	Attabira	Rengali	Attabira	Rengali	Attabira	Rengali
Cultivation						
Young	100 (0)	350 (1)	25 (0)	100 (0)	125 (0)	450 (1)
Adults	20,350 (40)	13,375 (38)	5,450 (11)	6,875 (19)	25,800 (51)	20,250 (57)
Old	425 (1)	150 (0)	175 (0)	25 (0)	600 (1)	175 (1)
Sub-total	20,875 (41)	13,975 (39)	5,650 (11)	7,000 (19)	26,525 (52)	20,875 (59)
Agricultural Labour						
Young	--	250 (1)	--	125 (0)	--	375 (1)
Adults	7,900 (16)	5,675 (16)	2,825 (6)	4,600 (13)	10,725 (22)	10,700 (29)
Old	--	25 (0)	--	25 (0)	--	50 (0)
Sub-total	7,900 (16)	5,950 (17)	2,825 (6)	4,750 (13)	10,725 (22)	10,700 (30)
Other Occupations						
Young	--	25 (0)	--	--	--	25 (0)
Adults	10,525 (21)	3,125 (9)	2,525 (5)	700 (2)	13,050 (26)	3,825 (11)
Old	175 (0)	--	--	--	175 (0)	--
Sub-total	10,700 (21)	3,150 (9)	2,525 (5)	725 (2)	13,059 (26)	3,850 (11)
Total	39,475 (78)	22,975 (65)	11,000 (22)	12,450 (35)	50,475 (100)	35,425 (100)

Note: Figures in brackets indicate the percentage.

labour is higher. The ratio of income from agricultural labour is more or less similar (100:99.7) in Attabira and Rengali; the ratio of income from cultivation in Attabira and Rengali is 100: 79; but the ratio of income from the secondary and tertiary sectors in Attabira and Rengali is 100: 30. This means that an increase in agricultural production can stumulate further economic activities in the non-agricultural sector, resulting in a relative decline in the earnings from agricultural sector.

The amounts and proportions of earnings of the young and the old and their share in the total family earnings are very negligible both in Attabira and in Rengali. In Attabira, this is in conformity with the existence of the very few young and the old in the work force. In Rengali, even though the young formed 7 per cent of the workers, their share in the total earnings of the family is very negligible, at 3 per cent of the total family earnings.

The earnings of adults formed 98 per cent of the family earning of the respondents in Attabira and 97 per cent in Rengali. Thus, the family is almost wholly dependent on the earnings of the adults, the earnings of children being very negligible, even in an underdeveloped area, where the employment of children is widespread. However, there is variation in the relative share of the contribution of adult males and females to the total earnings of the family. In Attabira out of a total adult earning of Rs.49,575, 78 per cent is earned by males and 22 per cent by females; but in Rengali, out of a total adult earning of Rs.34,350, 65 per cent is earned by men, and 35 per cent by women. Thus, though women's earnings form a substantial portion of the total family earning in both areas, its relative share is more in the underdeveloped area, and its importance declined with development.

The main sources of earning of women in Rengali are cultivation and agricultural labour. They earned from cultivation 19 per cent of the family income, from agricultural labour 13 per cent and from other occupations 2 per cent. The earnings of Rengali men from these occupations are: cultivation 38 per cent, agricultural labour 16 per cent, and other occupations 9 per cent. While the earnings of women through cultivation is half of men's earnings, through agricultural labour it is almost equal to men's earnings.

In Attabira, the earnings of women from cultivation form 11 per cent of the family earnings; from agricultural labour 6 per cent and from other occupations 5 per cent.

The share of men is 40 per cent from cultivation, 16 per cent from agricultural labour and 21 per cent from other occupations. Not only the share of women's earnings to total earning is less in Attabira but their earnings from occupations like agricultural labour and other occupations become relatively negligible in terms of total family earning.

Socio-Economic Range of Occupation

It was noted that in Attabira, farmers possessing less than two acres of land only made their women work in the agricultural fields. Further analysis also revealed the declining participation of children and women in occupations, with increasing income levels. In view of the social hierarchy of occupations, the withdrawal of children and women from particular occupations is likely to follow a specific pattern, rather than being random. Because of the low status of the occupation of agricultural labour, a person is likely to withdraw from it at the first stage. Secondly, as withdrawal from occupations is related to income, it will be occurring at certain income thresholds. In order to have an understanding of this, the occupational variation of the female workers was analysed in relation to landholding, total household income, and earnings of the principal adult male. Among these three, landholding appeared to be a very good indicator. In Tables 8 and 9 the number of women workers engaged in agricultural labour, cultivation, other occupations, domestic work, and not engaged in work, in Attabira and Rengali, respectively, are given in relation to their landholding. In Attabira, among the 15 women agricultural labourers, 11 are landless; there are no agricultural labourers from a family having more than two acres of land. In terms of household incomes women tapered off from agricultural labour at household income of Rs.325 per month. In Rengali, women from households owning up to five acres are having a total household income of Rs.375 per month, worked as agricultural labourers. Thus, only women with household incomes up to a certain level, or with assets which generate that level of income, work as agricultural labourers.

Cultivation, which involves mainly work in one's own field, has a status higher than agricultural labour. In Attabira, women from families possessing half an acre to seven acres of land, or within a gross family income of Rs.176 to Rs.650, work as cultivators. The real landowning floor at which women enter cultivation, rather than agricultural labour, could be one acre, as there is only one woman from a family owning less than an acre of land working as cultivator,

while 12 women with 1 to 1.5 acres of land work as cultivators. In Rengali, women from households owning half an acre to 10 acres of land, or a gross family income of Rs.101 to Rs.450, work as cultivators. Thus, it is women from families within a specific socio-economic range who work as cultivators. This is a range higher than the one from which women worked as agricultural labourers; but when the family income reaches a certain level, women withdraw from working even in their own fields.

TABLE 8 : NUMBER OF WOMEN IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS IN RELATION TO LANDHOLDING, ATTABIRA

Land Holding	Cultivation	Agricultural labour	Others	Domestic	None	Total
1. Nil	--	11	10	--	--	21
2. Below 1/2 acre	1	1	3	--	-- --	5
3. 1 Acre	12	1	--	--	--	13
4. 11/2 "	2	1	1	--	--	4
5. 2 "	3	1	5	5	--	14
6. 21/2 "	7	--	--	3	--	10
7. 3 "	10	--	--	4	--	14
8. 31/2 "	7	--	--	3	--	10
9. 41/2 "	5	--	--	4	--	9
10. 41/2 "	3	--	--	2	--	5
11. 5 "	6	--	--	6	--	12
12. 51/2 "	--	--	--	2	1	3
13. 6 "	2	--	--	6	--	8
14. 61/2 "	1	--	--	7	--	9
15. 7 "	4	--	1	8	--	13
16. 71/2 "	--	--	--	1	--	1
17. 8 "	--	--	--	5	--	5
18. 81/2 "	--	--	--	2	--	2
19. 9 "	--	--	--	--	--	--
20. 91/2 "	--	--	--	--	--	--
21. 10 "	--	--	--	15	1	16
22. 101/2 "	--	--	--	--	--	--
23. 11 "	--	--	--	--	--	--
24. 111/2 "	--	--	--	--	--	--
25. 12 "	12 "	--	--	2	--	2
26. 121/2 "	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	63	15	20	75	3	176

TABLE 9 : NUMBER OF WOMEN IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS IN RELATION TO LANDHOLDING, RENGALI

Landholdings	Agricultural Labour	Cultivation	Others	Domestic	Total
1. Nil	20	--	8	--	28
2. 1/2 Acre	2	1	--	--	3
3. 1 "	2	1	--	--	3
4. 11/2 "	--	--	--	--	--
5. 2 "	4	13	2	--	19
6. 21/2 "	5	9	1	--	15
7. 3 "	1	13	--	--	14
8. 31/2 "	2	4	--	1	7
9. 4 "	4	8	1	1	14
10. 41/2 "	1	--	--	--	1
11. 5 "	6	4	1	2	23
12. 51/2 "	--	--	--	--	--
13. 6 "	--	18	--	--	18
14. 61/2 "	--	--	--	--	--
15. 7 "	--	4	--	3	7
16. 71/2 "	--	3	--	--	3
17. 8 "	--	4	2	--	6
18. 81/2 "	--	2	--	2	4
19. 9 "	--	--	--	--	--
20. 91/2 "	--	--	--	--	--
21. 10 "	--	1	--	3	4
22. 101/2 "	--	--	--	--	--
23. 11 "	--	--	--	--	--
24. 111/2 "	--	--	--	--	--
25. 12 "	--	--	--	2	2
26. 121/2 "	--	--	--	--	--
Total	47	95	13	16	171

In Attabira, the background of women working in 'other occupations' is mostly similar to that of women working as agricultural labourers. Out of 20 women in this category, 10 are landless and no women from a household with more than two acres of land work in these occupations. In Rengali, majority of women who worked in 'other occupations' belonged to landless households, but their household incomes are higher than those of agricultural labourers. This is mainly because of the artisanal background of these women.

The socio-economic threshold at which "domestic workers," who are not engaged in productive work, appear was examined. In Attabira it is from households with a minimum of two acres of land, or a minimum household income of Rs.176, that women exclusively engaged in domestic work appear. It is when women are not required by economic pressures to work as agricultural labour, or engage in other occupations, that they become domestic workers. Women from even the richest families (largest land-holding families) are engaged in domestic work. The threshold at which domestic workers appear and the socio-economic range up to which they appear are higher than the range within which women work as cultivators.

The socio-economic range of households, in which children work and are outside the labour force in Rengali, was examined. But it did not yield any definite pattern.

Beliefs and Values

Beliefs and values provide the framework for social action. While the importance of value orientation in economic development has been highlighted by a number of scholars like Clyde Kluchorn,[7] Florence Kluckhorn,[8] Max Weber,[9] David McCleland,[10] social thinkers like Karl Marx emphasised change in value orientation along with change in mode of production, particularly industrialization. In the present context the attempt is to understand the influence of economic development on value orientation. The procedure followed for this purpose was to put a battery of value-loaded statements to the respondents to find their attitudes to these statements, and on that basis to develop an understanding of their value orientation. In this connection, two sets of statements were administered to the respondents: one was a battery of 20 statements specifically framed for this study. These statements touched upon basic issues like the relation between man and nature, man and man, gratification of needs, and are referred to as value orientation. The other set was of 14 statements, constituting the Overall Modernity (OM) Scale and was developed by Alex Inkles.[11] These statements sought to understand the overall modernity of the respondents, and are collectively referred to as "Modernity Scale".

Value Orientation

In Table 10, the 20 statements used for understanding the value orientation of the respondents and the percentage of respondents from Attabira and Rengali showing modern and rational values as measured through them, are given. Items 1,3, and 4 touched upon beliefs pertaining to the relation between man and nature. Item 1 shows

that most of the respondents in Attabıra and Rengali believe that a natural phenomenon like rain, so important for agriculture, is supernaturally controlled. This idea is further confirmed by item 3 showing that it is beyond man's power to bring Nature under his control, and item 4 that it is only through the grace of supernatural powers that man can materially prosper.

TABLE 10 : STATEMENTS USED FOR UNDERSTANDING VALUE ORIENTATION, AND THE PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH MODERN/RATIONAL VALUES, IN ATTABIRA AND RENGALI

S.No.	Statement*	Attabira	Rengali
1.	It is due to the blessing of God that it rains regularly (Disagree)	12	7
2.	The growth of certain plants will be affected if women during their menses touch them (Disagree)	53	39
3.	It is foolish on man's part to bring nature under his control (Disagree)	10	4
4.	Without God's blessing, man will not be able to prosper in this world (Disagree)	9	4
5.	We are likely to make few mistakes if we follow the customs of our forefathers (Disagree)	43	42
6.	It is better if one begins work in one's agricultural fields on some auspicious periods (Disagree)	12	4
7.	It is possible to cure snake-bite by chanting mantras (Disagree)	9	0
8.	It is a sin to eat cow's meat (Disagree)	6	3
9.	Some diseases are caused due to the wrath of god (Disagree)	43	42

S.No.	Statement*	Attabira	Rengali
10.	One should avoid inauspicious periods in taking up any important work (Disagree)	14	5
11.	Even though ordinary diseases can be cured by medicine, there are certain diseases which can be cured only through rituals and mantras (Disagree)	47	34
12.	These days it is not worth to cultivate crops which yield fruits after many years (Disagree)	18	13
13.	In these days when it is so difficult to get good jobs, spending too much money on the education of children is not very wise (Disagree)	6	10
14.	If one runs after making too much money, it may lead to misery (Disagree)	2	10
15.	One should try, as far as possible, to live within the means at one's own disposal (Disagree)	3	4
16.	One should not try to change Institutions like caste system having its origin in the scriptures (Disagree)	16	8
17.	Villages must continue the traditional practice of showing respect to Brahmins (Disagree)	16	8
18.	One should try as far as possible, to follow the traditional customs and practices (Disagree)	11	7
19.	Man should not try to interfere with the birth of children (Disagree)	24	5
20.	Giving education to girls would not be as useful as giving education to boys (Disagree)	28	14

* Responses which were considered to indicate modern/rational values are given in bracket as disagree.

Ritual evaluation of phenomena and their classification into auspicious (sacred) ritually neutral and inauspicious (profane) ones is a strongly held belief in traditional society. Items 6 and 10 reveal the strongly held belief in auspicious and inauspicious periods of time.* Closely related to this is the belief about the sacred and profane character of things and persons. A woman during her menses is a profane person at whose touch crops would wither away (item 2). In contrast to profane persons are sacred persons and things. A Brahmin is a sacred person (item 17). Related to this is the belief that religious chanting (mantras) can cure snake bite (item 7) and that certain diseases can be cured only through ritual means (item 9 and item 11).

Items 5, 16, 18, 19 and 20 enquire to what extent traditionalism is a positive frame of reference for the respondents. Majority of the respondents believed that one is likely to make few mistakes if one followed customary practices (item 5).

Response to item 16 shows the continued belief of the respondents in the caste system. It was also widely believed that man should not try to interfere with the birth of children and boys should be given preferential treatment in the matter of education, against the educational needs of girls (items 19 and 20). When traditionalism is such a positive frame of reference, one could expect hardly any change in behaviour from the customary practice.

The items in general depict the belief that man's condition is supernaturally ordained and he could achieve prosperity only by living in conformity with traditional customs and practices which are believed to be supernaturally ordained.

The responses to the 20 statements in Table 10 were scored by giving a score value of 1 for a response indicating belief in a traditional value, a score value of 2 for an ambivalent response, and a score value of 3 for a response indicating belief in a modern, rational value. The mean scores obtained by the Attabira and Rengali respondents were

* Likewise, belief in omens held by the respondents. It is believed that if a cat runs across one's way it is an indication of impending ill-luck. In the course of the study the author was travelling with the Block Development Officer, when a cat jumped across the way. At once the jeep was stopped, taken backward for some distance and then only it was taken forward. In the event of such a bad omen, a villager may even cancel his trip.

30.19 and 27.70 in the range of 21 to 43. The two means were tested for variation and were found to be significant at 1 per cent level (t=4.02). This means that economic development and the operation of related forces led to modernization of value orientation.

Modernization

Modernization is the term for social change whereby less developed societies acquire the characteristics common to more developed societies. It has several components such as economic (a degree of self-sustaining growth in the economy), political (public participation in polity), normative (secular-rational norms), social (individual mobility) and resultant emergence of model personality with certain characteristics.[12] Alex Inkles through an elaborate process, developed a number of scales to measure the incorporation of such characteristics in the personality of individuals, and one of them is the O.M.Scale.[13]

The items in the Overall Modernity (O.M.) Scale and the percentage of respondents with modern attitudes on these items are given in Table 11. These enquired about concern over public issues, schooling of children, attitude to scientific research, basis of electing persons to public offices, perception of work, family planning, concern over world events, empathy, membership in associations, information about larger world, and reading of newspapers.

TABLE 11 : ITEMS IN THE O.M. SCALE, AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH MODERN ATTITUDES IN ATTABIRA AND RENGALI

S.No.	Statements	Attabira	Rengali
1.	We want to know your opinion on the following. Have you ever gotten so highly concerned about some public issue (such as....) that you really wanted to do something about it? If so, how often? *Frequently/Few times/Never	38	8
2.	If schooling is freely available how much schooling do you thing children of people like yourself should have? Above matric*	53	8

S.No.	Statements	Atta-bira	Ren-gali
3.	Two 12-year-old boys took time out from their work in the rice fields. They were trying to figure out a way to grow the same amount of rice with fewer hours of work. (1)* The father of one boy said: "that it is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing rice". (2) The father of the other boy said: "The way to grow rice is the way we have always done it. Talk about change will waste time but not help".	81	55
4.	What should most qualify a man to hold high office? (1) Coming from high family background; (2) Devotion to the old and time honoured ways; (3) Being the most popular among the people; (4)* High Education and Special knowledge	42	29
5.	Which is the most important for the future of this country? (1) *The hard work of the people; (2) Good Planning on the part of the government; (3) God's help; (4) Good luck.	94	74
6.	Scientists in the universities are studying such things as what determines whether a baby will be a boy or a girl and how is it that a seed turns into a plant. Do you think that these researches are: *(1) All Very Good (beneficial); (2) All somewhat good (beneficial); (3) All somewhat harmful; (4) All are very harmful	53	27
7.	Some people say that it is necessary for a husband and his wife to limit the number of children to be born so that they can take better care of those they already have. Others say that it is wrong for a husband and his wife to purposely limit the number of children to be born. Which of these opinions do you agree with more? (1) *Limit the number of children; (2) It is wrong to limit the number of children.	84	57

S.No.	Statements	Attabira	Rengali
8.	Which one of these (following) kinds of news interest you most? *(1) World events (Happenings in other countries); *(2) The Nation (our country); (3) Your home town (or village); (4) Sports; (5) Religious (or tribal, cultural) events (Ceremonies) or Festivals.	51	37
9.	If you were to meet a person who lives in another country a long way off (thousands of kilometers/miles away) could you understand his way of thinking? Yes*	38	8
10.	Do you think a man can be truly good without having any religion at all? *Yes	6	2
11.	Do you belong to any organization (associations, clubs), such as, for example, social clubs, unions, church organizations, political groups, or other groups? *Yes.	19	4
12.	Would you tell me what are the biggest problems you see facing your country? *Food, Population.	22	4
13.	Do you know of America and Russia? *Yes	89	78
14.	How often do you get news and information from newspapers? *(1) Everyday; (2) Few times a week; (3) Occasionally (Rarely); (4) Never.	68	23

Items 1 and 12 enquired the concern of the respondents over public issues (such as non-release of water for irrigation, measures to mitigate severity of drought etc.). In spite of the acuteness of these problems, few Rengali respondents were agitated over such issues but about one-third of Attabira respondents expressed concern over such issues. Response to item 12 indicated that perception of national problems by respondents both in Attabira and Rengali is relatively poor.

* These responses were considered to be modern.

Items 3 and 6 are concerned with respondents' attitude to scientific investigation. Most of the Attabira respondents have accepted a positive role for science, particularly in their day-to-day problems like agriculture and birth of children. In Rengali also, the extent of acceptance of science is widespread, though not as much as in Attabira. Item 7 indicates that the ideas of restricting the number of children as a means of economic prosperity is widely accepted in both areas, particularly in Attabira.

Item 2 enquired the level of education that respondents wanted to give their children, assuming that schooling is freely available. Only 8 per cent of the Rengali respondents, against 53 per cent of Attabira respondents, wanted to give higher education to their children. The low aspiration of Rengali respondents deserves special notice.

Item 4 enquired the criteria which should qualify a man to hold high office. Among the four alternatives--family background, traditionalism, popularity, high education, special knowledge--the last two were taken as the indicators of modern view. Forty-nine per cent of Attabira respondents and 29 per cent of Rengali respondents held the modern view in this regard.

Item 5 enquired respondents' perception of the means through which prosperity could be achieved: whether through rational efforts or through dependence on God's help and luck. It is gratifying to note that almost three-fourths of Rengali respondents and 94 per cent of Attabira respondents believed in rational efforts like hard work and good planning as leading to prosperity. Likewise, response to item 7 indicates that majority of the respondents from both areas have accepted family planning as a desirable practice.

Membership of respondents in both areas in formal organizations like farmers associations, youth clubs, co-operative societies, etc., are very low (Item 11). The frequency of reading newspapers is fairly high in Attabira though not in Rengali (Item 14). Item 10 shows that few respondents could conceive of separation between religion and good behaviour in secular life. This is a reflection of the non-differentiation of religious and secular action.

The responses of the respondents to the 14 items generally reflect a low level of modernization, particularly in Rengali. Respondents concerned with public issues, higher aspiration, belief in the utility of scientific experiments, empathy, separation of religious and secular action, membership in

formal organizations, are relatively few in Rengali. Being burdened with the problems of day to day existence, with little education, little mobility beyond their village, tradition is their frame of reference. As indicated by item 10, there is little differentiation of religious and secular actions.

The response to the 14 items in the O.M. Scale were scored by giving a value of 0 for a response indicating a traditional belief, and a value of 1 for a response indicating modern response. The means of the score obtained by Attabira and Rengali respondents were 7.75 and 4.45. The two means were tested for difference and were found to differ at 1 per cent level of significance (t=8.5). This means, that the process of economic development has stimulated the process of modernization.

Spatial Mobility

Table 12 gives information about the frequency of movement of the principal bread winner outside

TABLE 12 : INCIDENCE OF TRAVEL OUTSIDE THE VILLAGE IN A MONTH, CAUSES OF TRAVEL, MEANS OF TRANSPORT AND DISTANCE COVERED BY RESPONDENTS

S.No.		Attabira	Rengali
I.	Frequency of Travel of Principal Male Members Outside Village		
	1. No movement	2	18
	2. 1-2 times	44	41
	3. 3-5 times	33	16
	4. 6-8 times	16	3
	5. 9-15 times	2	2
	6. 16 times and more	3	--
	Average	3.9	1.5
II.	Causes of Travel		
	1. No movement	2	18
	2. Economic	22	50
	3. Social and Family	40	15
	4. Economic and Social	22	4
	5. Health, economic and social	12	11
	6. Court cases	2	2
III.	Principal Means of Travel		
	1. No movement	2	18
	2. Foot	12	45
	3. Bus	66	24
	4. Cycle	8	11
	5. Train	1	--
	6. Foot, bus and cycle	11	2

S.No		Attabira	Rengali
IV.	Distances Covered		
	1·None	2	18
	2. Up to 2 miles	15	14
	3·2-5 miles	15	11
	4·6-10 miles	·16	20
	5.10 miles and more	52	37
	Average	9.8	7.6

his own village in a month, purpose of such movement made, distance covered, and the means of transport used. On an average, Attabira respondents travelled 3.9 times and those from Rengali 1.5 times outside their village. About half of the respondents in both areas travelled outside their village only once or twice a month. The frequency of other family members going outside the village was also enquired. It was reported that, other family members in as many as 28 per cent of respondents' households in Attabira did not travel outside their village; another 8 per cent in Rengali and 49 per cent in Attabira travelled outside the village on one or two occasions a month. Thus, the general picture is one of absence of spatial mobility. However, increased incidence of mobility in Attabira indicates the process of development stimulating spatial mobility of the people.

The increase in mobility led to expansion of the social and economic horizons of the villagers. It expanded the market for their products as well as purchases and also widened the scope for entering into social relations. On the other hand, such mobility outside one's village, particularly to urban centres, became a channel for communication of modern ideas and practices to rural areas. Thus, the process of development not only led to increased incomes, better level of consumption of food, and greater social mobility, but also provided channels for transfer of modern ideas and practices touching various aspects of life of the villagers.

Social Mobility

Enquiry was made into the educational level of the respondents, and also of their first son and level of the respondents, and also of their first son and first daughter. Among the 100 respondents from Attabira, 30 per cent were illiterate, 44 per cent had education up to primary level, 12 per cent upto middle school, and 14 per cent upto high-school and higher education. In Rengali, among 100 respondents 33 were illiterate, 55 had primary education and less, 7 middle school, and 5 high school and

higher education. The wives of 68 Attabira respondents, and 88 Rengali respondents were illiterate. Against this background of parents' education, children of only 8 per cent of Attabira and 27 per cent Rengali respondents were illiterate. Compared with the educational level of their parents, the educational level of the first sons showed marked improvement: In Attabira, 60 respondents, and in Rengali 54 respondents reported such improvement.

Comparison was made between the occupational level of the respondents and their children. There was a deterioration in the occupational status of the children of 10 respondents in Rengali and none in Attabira: improvement has occurred in the occupational status of the children of 13 respondents in Attabira, but of none in Rengali. Thus, while Rengali has a static occupational structure, with deteriorating conditions, upward mobility is occurring in Attabira.

Development of Market

It was noted that economic development led to the emergence of a number of new occupations, occupational specialization and production of marketable surpluses. This created a condition for the market development. Since cultivation of paddy is the main economic activity, goods and services required for its cultivation are the principal items involved in market transactions. As an example of the development of market relations, a few aspects of the marketing of surplus grain were explored.

It was noted that most of the farmers in Attabira and a few in Rengali sold paddy. Though many of them are poor, they did not sell their surplus grain immediately after harvest, to a village trader or moneylender as it is generally believed. Among the 'surplus' farmers in Attabira who sold paddy, 20 did so immediately after the harvesting season, while 42 sold the product when the price was high. Out of the 12 Rengali respondents who had surplus, as many as 11 made the sale after storing the grain for some time, when the price was high. In Rengali most of the sales were made within a market limited to village traders (6 respondents), kinsmen (3) and other traders in the village market (3). But in Attabira, only one respondent reported the sale of the product to a kinsman; 16 respondents sold the product each to a village trader and in the village market; 13 respondents sold the products in markets outside the village, and 11 to outside traders. While no farmer in Rengali had an obligation to sell his product to a particular moneylender or merchant, in Attabira six had such obligation. They had

to sell their product at a price less than the market rate, but most of them (4) felt that the loss incurred on this count was worth the advantage derived through such a transaction.

Thus, it is noticed that with the development of productive forces, surplus has been generated; this has led to the development of commerce and expansion of market, cutting across village boundaries, and particularistic ties of kinship and village. It brought outside traders into the villages and took villagers into outside market.

Conclusions

(1) The introduction of canal irrigation in Attabira led to intensification of agriculture through larger use of labour and various inputs, and multiplication of cropping. Compared with Rengali, where pre-irrigation conditions prevailed, in Attabira, there has been a six-fold increase in the production of paddy in a year. This has made farmers with holdings of two acres and more, who formed three-fourths of the households, 'surplus' farmers selling paddy.

(2) Intensification of agriculture and multiple cropping led to substantial increase in the requirement of labour for agricultural production in Attabira. Employment in secondary and tertiary sectors also has increased in Attabira. A number of occupations have also sprung up in Attabira. Thus, economic development led to greater employment opportunities in Attabira.

(3) Even though employment opportunities are more in Attabira, the proportion of population in the workforce was less in Attabira (53 per cent) and more in Rengali (80 per cent). This was found to be so, because of the withdrawal of children and a major section of adult and old women from the workforce. While children are absorbed in the educational process, adult women have become domestic workers, primarily looking after family needs. Thus, in Attabira while there has been greater division of labour at societal level, there has been greater occupational specialization at individual level.

(4) The monthly household incomes of the 100 households each in Attabira and Rengali were Rs.50,475 and Rs.35,425 respectively. Even though a larger number and proportion of the people were in the labour force in Rengali, it did not lead to higher earning. Among the three age groups, adults are the main earners in Attabira. In Rengali, even

though children formed a section of the work force, their share to household income was negligible, making adults the main earners. However, women's contribution to total household income was more in Rengali (35 per cent) than in Attabira (22 per cent). This agrees with the finding that women move away from economic activities with economic development. Once the family reached a higher socio-economic status, women withdrew from cultivation, and began looking after the needs of family as "domestic" workers.

(5) The impact of economic development on normative orientation was measured. Respondents in both Attabira and Rengali are deeply embedded in superstition and are strongly tradition-oriented. Man was not perceived as the master of his environment or of his destiny, but as someone whose fate is in supernatural elements. However, there has been some change from such a traditionalistic value orientation in Attabira. The responses to the modernization scale also indicated that the extent of modernization is more in Attabira. Thus, with economic development, there has been some amount of modernization of values and attitudes.

(6) Economic development led to market development, increasing monetization and increased geographic mobility of the villagers. These broke the isolation of villagers and integrated them and their economy with wider areas and markets.

To sum up, canal irrigation in certain parts of Sambalpur led to substantial increase in agricultural production, increased incomes, increased employment opportunities, greater division of labour, occupational specialization and modernization of beliefs and values. Social and geographic mobility were induced in an otherwise static society, thus initiating a process of social change.

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10. ROLE OF PEASANT ORGANIZATIONS AND VOLUNTARY AGENCIES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

L.S.Vishwanath

Introduction

It is well known that a large percentage of India's population lives in the rural areas. A majority of this substantial population are poor. India is in some ways a unique country in that there is abject poverty the like of which is difficult to find elsewhere. Over the plan periods, raising the economic level of the vast majority of the rural poor has engaged the attention of planners and policy makers. This stemmed from a realization that once the economic well-being of the rural poor is taken care of through various development programmes, then this by itself would lead to better health, better housing, clothing, and put an end to starvation, malnutrition, etc. There was also a periodical review of the strategies for development and economic betterment of the conditions of the rural poor. Thus, during the Nehru era there was considerable emphasis on development of heavy industries. It was believed that heavy industries will lead to economic growth and development and the benefits of industrial growth would percolate or 'trickle down' to the rural poor leading to alleviation of rural poverty. However, by the early sixties there was growing realization that the expected 'trickle down' had not taken place through development of heavy industries. There was therefore a shift in strategy. It was felt that agricultural development taken up on an intensive scale would lead to overall development in rural areas and also benefit the rural poor. Consequently, programmes like the Intensive Agricultural Development Programme (IADP), more popularly known as the 'Package Programme', were taken up in selected districts on an experimental basis.

Later, however it was found that even this strategy did not yield the expected dividends so far as the rural poor were concerned. It certainly yielded dividends for the rural rich who already had resources, were more articulate and took advantage of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides etc., offered at concessional rates by the government. Close on the heels of the IADP followed the 'Green Revolution' especially in States like Punjab, Haryana and U.P. (Western part). The 'Green Revolution' also did not help in the mitigation of rural poverty.

Since the emphasised on agricultural development also did not lead to poverty alleviation, there was once again a shift in 'strategy'. Planners and policy makers decided to devise target oriented rural development programmes which were specifically meant for the development of the weaker sections in the rural areas. Thus, programmes like the Small Farmers Development Programme and Marginal Farmers Development Programme, Minimum Needs Programme, National Rural Employment Programme, Food for Work Programme, etc., were taken up. These target oriented programmes were taken up in addition to area development programmes like DPAP, etc. In the Sixth Plan there was considerable emphasis on poverty alleviation through beneficiary oriented programmes which formed part of IRDP or Integrated Rural Development Programme. This emphasis on target or beneficiary oriented programmes is to continue in the Seventh Plan. The Seventh Plan envisages an outlay of Rs.180,000 crores for various sectors.

A happy augury of this continuous review of strategies for the development of the rural poor is that our planners and policy makers are willing to learn from past experience and are willing to take corrective measures. There is firm indication that at the highest level in the Government of India there is awareness of various deficiencies that were revealed in the implementation of beneficiary oriented programmes, such as lack of co-ordination among functionaries, the benefits not reaching the intended beneficiaries and so on. Whether this awareness regarding deficiencies in implementation will be carried to the village and block level is a moot point. It is not just lack of enlightened awareness on the part of functionaries that their primary duty and responsibility is towards the rural poor and that they must co-ordinate their efforts to ensure that the poor are benefitted: there is also woeful lack of awareness on the part of beneficiaries, because illiteracy and ignorance are widespread in rural areas. Often the poor beneficiaries are not even

aware of the programmes devised by the Government for their socio-economic improvement.

It also happens that the rural poor, even if they are aware of the programmes meant for their benefit, find that the benefits are appropriated by the more resourceful people in the village. Because the rural poor are weak economically as well as socially (where they belong to scheduled castes or tribes), they are unable to prevent this misappropriation of benefits. Sometimes the rural poor willingly or unwillingly become a party to this misappropriation of benefits and instances have come to light where the poor man signs the papers and 'buys' the buffalo at a subsidised rate, but it is the well-to-do man who gets the animal.

Due to these deficiencies--such as benefits not reaching the intended beneficiaries--even the beneficiary oriented programmes may not have the necessary impact so far as poverty alleviation is concerned. To ensure that programmes specifically meant for the development of the rural poor benefit them and not the rural rich, it is necessary to organize the rural poor. Through effective organizations which work for their uplift and are prepared to fight, if necessary, on their behalf, it is possible not only to make them aware of development programmes meant for them, but also prevent various types of corruption and abuses in the implementation of programmes.

This objective of organizing the rural poor, though very desirable, has its own set of problems. What are these problems and what has been the experience of organizing the rural poor over the past few decades? In the rest of the paper, I will be dealing with the experience of organizing the rural poor by political parties and voluntary agencies. I think their experience is quite instructive.

Before I deal with the experience of political parties and voluntary agencies in organizing the rural poor, and the problems that arose, I may mention that both political parties and voluntary agencies operated within a basic framework. This basic framework in most parts of the country was the socio-economic agrarian hierarchy, comprising various interest groups. Purely in terms of an agrarian hierarchy, there were the non-cultivating owners of land, who merely supervised cultivation, the cultivator owners who might lease in or lease out their land (this group included peasants owning holdings of different sizes) and the landless agricultural labourers. In more concrete terms, the socio-economic agrarian hierarchy in most parts of rural India comprised powerful

groups at the top. These groups were economically powerful in their respective villages or areas. We need only mention for example, the Kamma and Reddy farmers in Andhra Pradesh, the Lingayets ; and Okhaligas in Karnataka, the Naidus in Tamil Nadu, the Jats in Punjab and Haryana, the Bhumihers in Bihar and so on.[1] These groups derived their economic power and social status mainly from ownership of sizeable amount of agricultural land. Due to this economic power and social status, these powerful groups in the countryside had much better access to bureaucrats, politicians and law enforcing authorities.

Below the top groups in the socio-economic hierarchy, were the middle peasants whose interests generally converged with those at the top of the hierarchy. Both economically and socially (where the middle peasants belonged to the same caste as the top most group) there was convergence of interest. Still lower down the hierarchy were small and marginal farmers and the landless labourers. Here there was a divergence of interest, in that the interest of the landless labourers and small marginal farmers did not coincide. I will discuss in the subsequent part of this paper this divergence of interest among the rural poor and the problems it created for political parties who tried to organize them.

Role of Political Parties in Organizing the Rural Poor

Since a majority of India's population reside in rural areas most political parties tried to build up a support base among various sections of the peasantry through their peasant fronts or organizations. These efforts of political parties date back to the pre-independence period and the efforts continued after independence. On their part, various sections of the peasantry responded to the efforts of political parties to woo them and this response was based on the way particular section(s) of peasantry perceived their interest. So far as organization of the rural poor is concerned, the left parties have played a prominent role. Just like other parties, the left parties also had their political angle and wanted to have as broad a base as possible in the rural areas. But besides their political angle, the left parties had an ideological orientation too, which made them take up on a priority basis the cause of the rural poor (and the urban working classes).

Therefore, when we examine the role of various political parties in organizing the rural poor, it emerges quite clearly that since the 1930's (with the formation of the All India Kisan Sabha in 1936--AIKS), the left parties have been in

the forefront at the all India level.[2] Before independence, the Communist Party of India (CPI) tried to organize the rural poor in various parts of the country. After independence, especially in the sixties, there were splits in the party leading to the formation of the CPI (M), CPI (ML) etc.

In different parts of the country, the left parties took up the cause of the share croppers who were harassed by landlords as they were evicted or made to pay half or three fourths share of the crop to the landlord. The left parties also took up the cause of the landless agricultural labourers and tried to organize them. In many parts of the country the landless labourers belonged to scheduled castes or scheduled tribes. These landless labourers, though they worked for long hours in the fields, were paid very low wages. Where the landless belonged to scheduled castes, they had to live in a separate hamlet away from the main village site. They could not come near or enter the houses of the upper castes. The Communists tried to organize the landless labourers, regardless of whether the labourers belonged to scheduled castes or some other caste.

The left parties' method of organizing the rural poor and putting forward demands varied from one part of the country to another. Thus, in parts of South India--Allepey district in Kerala and East Thanjavur in Tamil Nadu -- unions of agricultural labourers were organized.[3] The left parties also agitated for the rights of tenants to be owners of the land they cultivated and for the reduction in the share of the rent paid by share croppers. In other parts of the country, agitations, holding meetings on behalf of agricultural labourers, share croppers and tenants were the methods adopted. Sending representations or memorandums to the authorities was also resorted to.

In parts of Punjab and Haryana the Communists organized Khet Mazdoor Unions or Agricultural Labourers Unions. But these unions did not emerge as strong unions as in East Thanjavur or Allepey in Kerala. On the contrary, the Khet Mazdoor Unions in Punjab and Haryana did not make much headway and soon fizzled out due to various problems[4] to which I will refer later.

The leftists' efforts to organize the peasants and agricultural labourers started with the formation of the All India Kisan Sabha at Lucknow in 1936. The National Congress of the pre-independence days comprised diverse ideological groups including leftists, centrists, and rightists. Compared to the Congress, the CPI was ideologically more cohesive

in that the primary emphasis of the party, reflected in the resolutions adopted by AIKS at its various sessions, was on Zamindari abolition, giving ownership rights to the tiller of the soil, reducing rent burden of share croppers, paying minimum wages to agricultural labourers and so on. Given this ideological cohesiveness, the CPI could have reduced,if not eliminated, the problems of organizing the rural poor if it had not adopted a distinctly political line. However, the political compulsions of CPI's rivalry with the Congress forced it to adopt a position which was at variance with its ideological orientation. Thus, while the major resolutions of the AIKS adopted at Lucknow spoke of Zamindari abolition, ownership rights to the tiller of the soil, the minor resolutions adopted included provision of irrigation facilities, fair price for sugarcane and commercial crops (this was aimed at attracting middle peasants and other peasant classes who cultivated commercial crops). It is clear that the CPI did not want to restrict its political base in rural areas to the poor peasants and the landless only.[5] It wanted to have as broad a base as possible. It is therefore not surprising that in States like Bihar a large number of middle peasants joined the Kisan Sabha.[6]

Hence, one type of problem which arises when political parties organize the rural poor is that they give in to political expediency and adopt postures which are at variance with their ideology of helping the poor by organizing them. Since reference has already been made to the methods adopted of putting forth demands on behalf of the peasants and the agricultural labourers, the areas or locations where agitations or struggles were organized, need not detain us. More important than giving names of States or the location of the struggles are the problems that arose from efforts of the Communists to organize the rural poor.

One type of problem arose from the class and caste divisions among the rural poor. Thus, the rural poor comprised small farmers who owned a few acres of land, marginal farmers with half or upto one acre, and the landless. The left parties found that when they tried to organize these groups together there were problems. When the demand was put forward on behalf of the landless for higher wages, it was not well received by the small and marginal farmers. This was because the small farmers themselves used to hire, if necessary, agricultural labourers during the busy agricultural season. The small farmers did not want to pay higher wages to the farm labourers. Thus, when the Kisan Sabha tried to organize the farm labourers and small farmers in a common

union, the small farmers backed out of the union when the demand for higher wages was raised and the union became defunct.

Caste was another hurdle in the formation of a common union where the farm labourers belonged to scheduled castes. The upper castes, even though they might be poor, did not want to be part of the same union as the scheduled castes.[7]

Another type of problem in organizing the rural poor arose from the framework or nature of the socio-economic agrarian hierarchy. The left parties who tried to organize the rural poor believed in the Marxist theory of class conflict. It does not require much ingenuity to perceive the fact that when the rural poor were sought to be organised, groups in the higher echelons of the agrarian hierarchy saw it as a threat to their interests. These higher groups comprising the rich farmers formed associations of their own. They viewed the demands for higher wages, better working conditions, and limited hours of work by farm labourers with intense dislike and anger. They felt that the farm labourers who were very submissive earlier, had become impertinent after becoming members of an organized union. Such feelings led to violence including burning of houses of scheduled castes farm labourers, as at Kilvenmani in East Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu in 1969.[8]

The richer peasants were not wrong in perceiving that organizations or unions of farm labourers were against their own interests because it is they who would have had to pay higher wages and make other concessions which they would never have done in the normal course, but for the organized unions' demands. It is also a fact that organizations or unions of farm labourers and the rural poor are formed to put forward in an organized way demands against the richer farmers or employers. As mentioned earlier, the rich farmers not only have better resources but also better access to the bureaucracy, and the police. They are therefore in a better position to resort to repressive measures when they want to teach the farm labourers "a lesson". Repression in turn leads to violence.

The formation of unions of agricultural labourers revealed certain other features, especially in States like Kerala. In Kerala, the CPI (M) was able to organize the agricultural labourers into strong, militant unions especially in districts like Allepey. The agricultural labourers union put forward and won demands for higher wages, limited hours of work

(the red flag is shown or there is a siren to indicate the close of working hours which is the signal for farm labourers to stop work) and other benefits. Since Kerala has had long spells of Communist rule from the time of the installation of the first Communist Ministry in 1957, the activities of left parties at the local level had encouragement and support of the State Government. Perhaps as a consequence, the wages of the agricultural labourers have gone up considerably in Kerala. So much so, that a labourer generally gets Rs.25 to Rs.30 per day. The available evidence does indicate that farmers in Kerala are giving up producing paddy, because paddy production is labour intensive and the share of wages in gross value of output is becoming very high. The farmers in Kerala are switching over to coconut cultivation because the labour requirements of gardenland crops like coconut is minimal.

In Kerala one of the demands of the Union which the employer-farmers had to accept was that if their own labourers did not report for work, the employer-farmers could not engage labourers from outside. As a result of this, the employer-farmers were every now and then reduced to sheer helplessness. Particularly at the time of transplanting or harvesting of paddy, the labourers would go on strike. In addition to this helplessness of employer-farmers, wages were also increasing steeply. It does appear that the employer-farmers found a solution to these problems by giving up the labour-intensive paddy cultivation and taking up coconut cultivation.

The data indicate that the proportion of the area under rice to total cropped area for all Kerala declined from 33.16 per cent in 1960-61 to 29.84 per cent in 1970-71. In districts like Palghat, Trichur and Kozhikode, the decline in percentage terms was around 4 per cent during 1960-61 to 1970-71. However, the decline in districts like Cannanore was marked where proportion of area under paddy fell from 35.77 per cent in 1960-61 to 26.83 per cent in 1970-71.[9]

During the same decade, the area under coconut increased in proportionate terms from 21.32 per cent in 1960-61 to 24.52 per cent in 1970-71 for all Kerala. It is significant that districts like Allepey showed the maximum increase in area under current fallows. The increase of cultivable land left uncultivated in Allepey was as much as 600 per cent between 1974-75 and 1978-79. The employer-farmers of Allepey, while they gave up paddy cultivation, did not switch over to coconut cultivation possibly because the wet lands were not convertible into garden lands. Allepey is an area where strong unions of agricultural labourers

were organized by CPI (M). Along with palghat and Trichur, Allepey had the largest proportion of land area under rice cultivation. But things have changed and a large area is now left fallow.[10]

The implications of this switch over from the labour intensive paddy cultivation to coconut cultivation where labour requirements are minimal for employment of labourers is obvious enough. Though Marxist theoreticians and leftist political workers who helped in organizing the agricultural labourers into strong unions will vouch that they have only helped the labourers, it does appear that given the realities of the socio-economic agrarian hierarchy, militancy can be counter-productive. The farmer-employers can and do exercise the option to cultivate some other crop and not employ labourers who do not report for work or go on strike during the busy agricultural season.

From all that has been said above, it should not be imagined that the unionization of the rural poor in Kerala and East Thanjavur by Communists had only negative features. On the positive side, there can be no doubt that organization of farm labourers into strong unions in these areas put an end to the submissive attitudes on the part of the labourers and the abject conditions in which the labourers lived and worked as inferior human beings. Before unionization, the labourers could not approach the upper caste streets and had to speak to their employers in respectful terms. But after unionization, the labourers could dare to do many things which they would not even have contemplated earlier. For Thanjavur, Kathleen Gough reports that labourers could walk freely in the streets and wear shirts and ankle length instead of the knee length clothing.[11] Similarly, for Kerala it is reported that labourers organized in unions not only assert themselves but also the landowners must be careful how they talk to the labourers.[12]

Though we do not have systematic data about the impact of unionization on farm labourers in Thanjavur, it seems that considerable improvement in their economic condition did not result from unionization. Kathleen Gough writes that in 1952 those Harijans who had come under communist influence claimed that they were giving up eating field rats in an effort to appear respectable and to be fit to associate with the higher castes. In 1976, however, virtually all Harijans and many more non-Brahmin labourers and small holders ate rats. In general, "agricultural labourers could eat two meals a day for only three months in each year, that is, for six weeks during and after each of the harvests".[13]

It may be mentioned that it is only in a few places such as East Thanjavur and Allepey, that the communists succeeded in organizing the farm labourers in strong unions. This was because there were a number of factors favourable to the emergence of strong unions in these areas. These were: a large population of scheduled castes (this means there was a certain amount of homogeniety of the target population the communists tried to organize, and divisive forces like caste and class were relatively absent), a high degree of literacy and awareness in Kerala, backing by the leftist government in Kerala which tacitly encouraged formation of unions and demands of the labourers leading to successive wage hikes.

In most other parts of the country, the communists could not build up strong unions of agricultural labourers. But they nevertheless organized movements or struggles on behalf of share croppers for reduction in share of crop paid by them to landlords. In the wake of land reforms the communists also organized the tenants (mostly landless and small land owning tenants) who were evicted from the lands they tilled.

Some of the movements organized by the communists were large in terms of area and population involved. Thus the Telengana revolt of 1946-48 was the largest of its kind. It is reported to have engulfed 2000 villages in an area of 15,000 square miles with a population of four million and a peasant army of 5000. The Tebhaga movement led by the communist in West Bengal in 1946 was also large in scale.[14]

The reasons why the communists or their peasant front the Kisan Sabha launched struggles on behalf of share croppers who were made to surrender half share or more of the crop to the landlord, and tenants who were thrown out by landlords in the wake of land reform legislation are not difficult to explain in view of communist ideology which espoused or supported the cause of the aggrieved peasants.

What is interesting about these movements is that after they were launched they picked up momentum. But after a while they died out. They could not be sustained for long periods. The Telengana Movement which was the largest and the "longest" lasted barely 2 years.

There seems to be two main reasons for this. First, these movements did not last long due to the powerful groups at the top of the socio-economic hierarchy. The landlord

groups would enlist the help of the police and other law enforcing machinery, and put down the revolting peasants. Second, in several areas where the communists launched agitations on behalf of tenants who were harassed or evicted by landlords, tenants did get ownership rights over land they tilled. However, soon after getting ownership rights, these tenants decided to abandon the communist-led organization because communist ideology and talk of land redistribution did not suit their interests. Consequently, in Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and Kerala where the communists organized the tenants and agitated for their rights, the organization of tenants became dormant no sooner the tenants obtained ownership rights on the land they cultivated.[15] In other words, the tenants who benefitted through the organizations started by the communists moved away and virtually abandoned the communist-led organization, as they developed a vested interest of their own. For both these reasons, movements and organizations launched by communists on behalf of tenants and share croppers petered out.

Just as in the case of agricultural labourers' unions which made the labourers conscious of their rights vis-a-vis the landlords, the tenant organizations started by communists had their positive side in that they made the tenants conscious of their rights. Moreover, in States like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Kerala and Tamil Nadu many tenants became owners of the land they tilled.

Given the reality of the socio-economic hierarchy which has powerful landlord groups at the top, how far the communists succeeded in building up effective organizations of the rural poor is not an important question. It can be argued that the actual conditions were weighted against them. The more important point is that even though the communist-led movements could not be sustained for long and communists succeeded in building up strong organizations of farm labourers only in some parts of South India, communist efforts to organize the rural poor and aggrieved peasantry created consciousness among them whether they were share croppers, tenants or farm labourers. This was the positive aspect.

Voluntary Agencies and Rural Development

The role of political parties in organizing the rural poor for development was, as we have seen, characterised by parties with a leftist ideology playing the major role.

By contrast, when the background of social workers

(those doing genuine social work), who have taken up voluntary work, is examined we find that, besides those who believe in leftist ideology, there were Gandhian workers or Sarvodaya workers and intellectuals who gave up the security and comfort of an urban life to serve in rural areas. There were doctors who abandoned the comfort of living and earning abroad or in a metropolis and took up social work. The social work of some Christian missionaries also may be mentioned.

One of the most important things to be borne in mind with regard to voluntary efforts, whatever be the background of the social workers, is that they function in a socio-economic hierarchy or structure. Upper castes/classes, who dominate economically and socially in rural areas and have links with bureaucracy and political big wigs, are not interested in development of the rural poor. Hence, when efforts are made to organize or develop the rural poor through voluntary efforts, such efforts can create tensions. Those not interested in the development of the rural poor may try to discredit the voluntary agency by alleging that it is a foreign agent or spy. Such allegations obviously should not be taken seriously unless they are proved. Even if such allegations cannot be made or sustained, the well-to-do groups have enough power and influence to disturb the working or voluntary workers.

Before I discuss further the role of voluntary agencies, I should make it clear that I am referring to the genuine voluntary agencies doing good work in rural areas and not to fraudulentor fictitious voluntary agencies.

In contrast to governmental efforts in rural development, voluntary effort has many advantages. Among these is flexibility. Though voluntary agencies have their norms and rules they are not so rule-bound as government agencies. This flexibility enables them to function more effectively. Less bound by bureaucratic rules and procedures, voluntary agencies are better able to build up and maintain contact with the target population they serve. This better rapport with the target population means that voluntary agencies are able to deliver the goods more effectively through their development efforts.[16]

Another sphere in which voluntary agencies definetly score over government functionaries is the motivation of the workers. Intellectuals, medical practitioners, and others from urban areas who give up comforts to go and live among the rural people, are strongly motivated to do some thing positive for the rural downtrodden and are able to motivate

their co-workers as well as the people from the target population.

Since voluntary agencies have the two factors essential for success, namely, better rapport with the target population and strong motivation, it is not surprising that some of them have done wonderful work in rural areas. We need only mention, for example, the Citizen's Voluntary Training Centre (CVTC) of Manipur, the Pani Panchayat and Baba Amte's work in rural areas of Maharashtra. From my own field observations of the working of voluntary agencies with dedicated workers like the CVTC of Manipur, I can say with confidence that it is doing very good work in rural areas. For example, CVTC's volunteers worked in backward areas of Manipur inhabited by Scheduled Castes. The CVTC involved the youth in these villages and through voluntary efforts provided drinking water, started a demonstration farm, taught the villagers the latest agricultural techniques, taught them how to grow vegetables like brinjals and tomatoes which the villagers had never seen before. CVTC also started classes in tailoring and embroidery for the women in the backward areas. About 300 children were enrolled and a poultry farm was started. Each child was paid Rs.30/-. The children ran the poultry farm so well that they were soon prepared to refund the money given by the CVTC. Many similar examples of successful working of voluntary agencies in rural areas can be given.[17]

It may however be noted that working of voluntary agencies has its own set of problems. The goal of all voluntary action is the same, namely to help in the development of the rural poor in an organized and, co-ordinated way. But often there is lack of co-ordination and mutual trust among voluntary agencies. In a small state like Manipur, for example, there are more than 5000 registered voluntary agencies. Yet there is practically no co-ordination among them. This lack of co-ordination is partly due to the different backgrounds of the social workers in terms of their ideology and outlook. The receipt of funds from abroad by voluntary agencies can also lead to mutual jealousy between those who get funds from abroad and those not placed in the same fortunate position.

A major problem faced by voluntary agencies is that at the village and block level, where development programmes have to be implemented, they receive little or no help at all from the government. At the policy making level, in New Delhi, there is a recognition of the role of voluntary agencies in development. The approach paper for the Seventh

Plan stresses decentralization, people's participation and voluntary efforts in implementing various plan programmes. The Government of India has also set up People's Action for Development of India (PADI) under the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. PADI has been recognised by the Government as an agency for chanellising funds to voluntary agencies engaged in development work.

It is important that this recognition of the role of voluntary agencies at the higher policy making level is also there at the block and village level, so that voluntary agencies do not have to wage a lone battle without government support.

It is well known that a number of voluntary agencies receive funds from abroad. Even CVTC gets a major portion of its funds from West Germany. This has its positive aspect as well as dangers. On the positive side, funds from abroad free the voluntary agencies from financial worries and enable them to concentrate on development work. The danger is that receipt of funds from abroad over a long period, may make the voluntary agency a willing tool of, the donor. As foreign donors can have their own axe to grind, receipt of foreign funds naturally evokes suspicion.

As a solution to this problem, it is suggested by some that voluntary agencies could raise their own resources or the government should step in a big way and financially support voluntary agencies.[18]

It is far from easy for voluntary agencies to raise their own resources. They cannot concentrate on development if they have to constantly move from door to door or worry about how to raise funds. Rich industrialists or organizations with purely philanthropic motives are few within the country.

There are also problems if the government gives large grants to voluntary agencies. It would be naive to expect the government to release large sums to voluntary agencies without laying down rules and procedures. If voluntary agencies get bogged down with bureaucratic rules and procedures, they will be robbed of the flexibility and initiative their main assets.

Getting people with the necessary aptitude to live and work in rural areas is not easy. By this I mean recruitment of people who are not much bothered about their own interests or creature comforts and are prepared to serve the

rural poor. Since voluntary agencies do not have large funds (except the few prosperous NGO's) at their disposal, getting people to work in rural areas for small salaries is also not easy. Very often the chief organizer with his strong motivation for voluntary work Plays the key role. He is able to motivate a few other workers and the success stories of voluntary agencies in some parts of the country are mostly due to the strong motivation of the chief organizer who is prepared to overcome all kinds of problems and obstacles.

Conclusion

We have seen that besides their political angle or motivation, the left parties also had ideological motivation and played a prominant role in organizing the rural poor. These efforts of left parties had their positive aspect in that they generated consciousness among share croppers, tenants and agricultural labourers of their rights. Wherever the agricultural labourers were organized in strong unions, they received higher wages and won demands like limited hours of work and other benefits. However, there were also problems in organizing the rural poor. Thus, where there were divergent interests in terms of class and caste, strong unions of agricultural labourers could not emerge. Where strong unions did emerge as in Thanjavur and parts of Kerala, there were problems due to the nature of the socio-economic hierarchy. The employer-farmers either unleashed repressions through periodic violence or exercised their option not to cultivate the labour intensive paddy crop with all its serious implications for employment of the labourers.

It is noteworthy that conflict of group-interest is an important feature all along the socio-economic hierarchy. Thus, the small and marginal farmers do not accept demands of landless labourers for higher wages and are not prepared to be part of the same union as the landless labourers. Landless tenants who received land through the initiative of the left parties, left the leftist organization because leftist ideology of land redistribution did not suit their interests. At the higher levels of the socio-economic hierarchy, the landlord groups similarly sought to safeguard their interests by forming associations of their own unleashing terror or repression on Harijan labourers or by not employing them on their farms.

Since pre-independence days and especially after independence, the congress took up the programme of land reforms. By and large, land reform legislation has been evaded by

powerful landlord interest groups in the countryside. However, in some states, like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Kerala and Tamil Nadu legislation to give ownership rights to tillers has succeeded to some extent. The left parties which constantly pressed for ownership rights on land to the tiller through their peasant organizations, undoubtedly played a helpful role.[19]

In regard to voluntary organizations, we have noted that though they have many advantages like flexibility of procedures,better rapport with the target population and motivation, there are also problems such as lack of co-ordination among voluntary agencies working in an area, lack of support from government agencies and functionaries at the block and village level; getting people with the necessary aptitude, and so forth. Problems imposed by the socio-economic structure are common to both voluntary effort and efforts of the leftist parties. This is to be expected. It is extremely naive to believe that when the rural poor are organized by the left parties or through voluntary effort, the powerful interest groups in the countryside will welcome these efforts. The efforts of the left parties in organizing the rural poor were directed towards a direct confrontation with the rural rich landowners. Whereas the efforts of voluntary workers like missionaries, doctors, Gandhian social workers or intellectuals to organize the rural poor did not involve direct confrontation with the rich landlord group. But nevertheless confrontation is implicit in voluntary effort also, because the interests of the rich landowners and of the rural poor are divergent.

Voluntary organizations cannot match the Government's efforts or resources so far as rural development is concerned. The total funds of all voluntary organizations constitute only 0.25 per cent of the Government's plan outlay. Yet, wherever voluntary organizations have dedicated workers, they can play a very effective role because they have the crucial qualities necessary for success such as better rapport with the target group and better motivation than government functionaries.

NOTES

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7. See, Pandey,S.N.,*Emergence of Peasant Movement in India, An Area Study*.op. cit.

8. The burning of Harijan landless labourers in Kilvenmani Village in east Thanjavur by the hirelings of upper caste landlords in 1969 was widely reported in the press.

9. Jeemol Unni (Sept.1983).*Changes in the Cropping Pattern in Kerala, Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XVIII, No.39.

10. *Ibid* p.A107.

11. Joan P.Mencher (ed.) (Jan.7, 1984).*Social Anthropology of Peasantry*, Somaiya Publications, Bombay 1983. See also Shalid Amin, *Of Peasants and Peasant Movements Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.XIX, No.I.

12. Paper by Kathleen Gough in Joan P.Mencher (ed) (1983) *Social Anthropology of Peasantry*, Somaiya Publications, Bombay.

13. *Ibid*·

14. Kathleen Gough (1974).*Indian Peasant Uprisings, Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.XI, No.32-34, Special Number.

15. Vishwanath,L.S., *Gujarat Kisan Sabha 1936-56*, op.cit.

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17. See Ganshyam Shah and Chaturved, H.R.(1983) *Gandhian Approach to Rural Development*, Delhi, Ajanta.

18. See Bunker Roy (April 1985). "For Prime Minister, a Word of Advice" *Mainstream*, Special Number, March 9, 1985, and Upendra Bexi, "For Bunker Roy, a word of Advice", *Mainstream.*

19. Alice Thorner (Jan 24, 1981). "Nehru, Albert Mayer and Origins of Community Projects," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.XVI.

11. INTEGRATED CHILD DEVELOPMENT SERVICES PROGRAMME AND THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION

P.V.Santhanam

Introduction

Amongst the several new programmes initiated in the Fifth Plan, Integrated Child Development Services Programme (ICDS) constitutes the single biggest programme of social welfare. It envisages a co-ordinated approach towards the allround development of early childhood and the mother during the expectant and nourishing stage. It provides for a package of six essential services, viz., health, nutrition, immunisation, referral services, informal and nutritional education to the needy children and mothers in tribal, rural and urban (slums) areas of the country.

In the ICDS programme, the Anganwadi worker is the pivot, and the success of the programme to a large extent depends upon her. The focal point for the delivery of services under the scheme is the Anganwadi.

The Problem

The effectiveness of the scheme mainly depends on the successful role performance of the Anganwadi worker. She is the field worker who is directly connected with the beneficiaries of the programme. So it becomes essential to understand the nature of her role performance and the problem she faces both with the community and with project personnel. This will help to evaluate her role in the field perspective and to plan the necessary measures to help for her successful role performance. Hence, this field study was undertaken in a project area in Tamilnadu.

The present study is an explorative study, since the scheme is of recent origin and was not subject to any sociological research earlier. This research work deals with the following problems:

1. To understand the role of Anganwadi workers in the scheme.
2. To find out the role performance and role satisfaction,
3. To identify and analyse the nature of problems in their role performance.

Methodology

Sociological theories and Social psychological works provide the basic guidelines for the research work. Theories relating to the concept of "Role" were found to be the necessary theoretical reference, relevant to the present study. The role theory provides the concepts in role awareness, role set, role performance which are helpful in analysing the problems of Anganwadi workers and their possible social mechanisms of adjustment to conflicting situations.

The present study is a sociological study of the rank and file in developmental administration. Their role is analysed in relation to the larger public--namely the beneficiaries. In this respect their role is subject to three dimension analysis *viz.*, role-- expectations of the beneficiers towards workers, the role performance of the workers and the role satisfaction of the workers on their role performance. While making this analysis, their problems, opinions and suggestions come out and they are highlighted.

Sampling

A project area in Tamilnadu was selected for the study. It consisted of 100 Anganwadi centres during the time of data collection. Workers from all these centres were interviewed. This particular project area was selected for this study because there alone more Anganwadi centres were functioning from 1978 itself when compared to other places in the southern part of India.

Data Collection

A total period of nine months was spent for data collection including the phases of Pilot Study and Pre-test. For this research work, reliance was placed more on the survey method of data collection than any other method. A structured interview schedule was used for this purpose. In order

to put the respondents at ease, while discussing with them their problems, unstructured interviews with probing questions were found useful. Apart from this, the daily routine of the Anganwadi workers was observed and was recorded in the field diary maintained by the researcher. This was useful for analysing the role performance of the respondents.

III Findings

Anganwadi Workers and their Motivation

Majority of the Anganwadi workers got educated by their own efforts with the intention of securing jobs in the future. Only some workers were encouraged by their relatives and family members in their educational efforts. The changing social values of sex and changes in the status of women encourage them to go for education and take up careers. Most of the Anganwadi workers have taken up jobs due to economic necessity. A few took up jobs mainly motivated by the status given in society to earning women.

Role Perception of Anganwadi Workers

It was found that experience on the job influenced the self awareness of their role. The number of respondents with complete role awareness was more among those who have more years of experience than others with less than one year's experience. Respondents with poor perception of the objectives of the scheme were more among those who have one year and below one year experience. Anganwadi workers who have more than three years of experience possess a good understanding of the objectives of the scheme.

The respondents role perception regarding the Anganwadi functions is better than their perception of the objectives of the ICDS. Similarly, regarding the awareness of their responsibilities also workers with more experience have better understanding of their specific responsibilities.

Referral Services

A bigger majority of the (77%) respondents stated that they have referred cases to the health personnel. The reason stated by others (33%) is that they have not faced such cases of illness as high fever and dysentry or circumstances which require referral service.

Contact with Superiors

Within a particular month (which was considered for analysis) 67% of the respondents had reported to their higher officials. These contacts were mostly to solve their personal problems. However, there were certain genuine representations by a few (30%) respondents like consulting higher officials for solving problems created by the beneficiaries (mothers) and to complain about the repairs to be made in the building.

Contact with the Community

TABLE 1: MARITAL STATUS AS A BARRIER TO COMMUNITY CONTACT

Sl. No.	Community contact Marital Status	Respondents who were consulted for family planning	Respondents not consulted for family planning	Total in per cent
1.	Married Respondents	23	17	40
2.	Unmarried Respondents	16	44	60
	Total	39	61	100

Within a given period, 90% of the Anganwadi works had public contact. Their contacts were to guide/suggest on curative measures of common diseases of children. It was also found that the village community showed a little hesitation to contact Anganwadi workers on matters of family planning since most of the Anganwadi workers are unmarried. Thus the cultural barrier works against role performance of the workers.

Functional Literacy

All the workers evince keen interest in performing their role as teachers of functional literacy classes. Majority (80%) of the workers have each produced more than 10 best students. No single reason can be attributed for educating more number beneficiaries/less number beneficiaries, since the number of members who participated differed in

TABLE 2: FUNCTIONAL LITERACY

Sl.No.	Number of Beneficiaries	Number of Respondents
1.	Below 10	20
2.	10 to 20	43
3.	20 and above	37
	Total	100

their receptivity to get educated, their understanding capacity and their co-operation, from centre to centre. Viewed in this context, the role performance of the workers is more than satisfactory standard.

Knowledge and Initiative of the Workers

Regarding their knowledge about nutrition, health education and functional literacy, all the respondents were aware of the reasons for under nourishment. However, all of them were not able to identify the health problems of the village community very clearly. Only a few respondents were not able to spell out exactly the importance of nutrition, with reference to pre-natal and post-natal care of mothers. Most of the workers consider the aim of functional literacy as raising women's status and perceive it as a part of women's liberation. One specific peculiar feature is that all those who are "fresh" to the job have shown more initiative, whereas those who have more years of experience lack that much initiative for their role performance. It is inferred from this that experienced workers know the magnitude of the work and the possible problems which prevent them from being ambitious.

Role Satisfaction

All the workers had dissatisfaction in two specific aspects – (i) importance and recognition attached to their job by their family members and (ii) the same by the village community. They attributed the following reasons for their dissatisfaction with their job. (i) their salary is low, (ii) there are already other health staff to look after what they are doing

now, with the exception of the nutrition scheme, (iii) they have to take more efforts to get people for functional literacy classes, and (iv) they are in a helpless position to help villagers request on matters of financial help, cloths to children etc.

Problems in Running the Anganwadi

TABLE 3: PROBLEMS IN RUNNING THE ANGANWADI

Sl. No.	Nature of problems	Experience background of the respondents					
		One Year (n-20)	2 years (n-21)	3 years (n-43)	4 years (n-13)	5 years (n-3)	Total
1.	Inadequate space and inconvenient place	15	14	39	10	1	79
2.	Provisions for cooking not enough	10	15	26	9	-	60
3.	Provisions supplied not in good condition	8	16	6	1	1	32
4.	Helplessness in increasing the food supply	9	8	8	2	-	27
5.	Lack of water, electricity and storing facility	11	8	4	1	1	25
6.	Absence of play kits and playground	12	3	2	1	1	19
7.	Inadequate teaching aids Difficulty in obtaining	10	1	2	1	1	15
8.	Difficulty in obtaining Spare parts for the Tailoring Machine	1	1	4	-	-	6
9.	Need for a big weighing machine	-	-	4	-	-	4

The problems in running the Anganwadi are of various nature, since various respondents revealed their problems from different angles. The foremost among the problems is the problem relating to space for running the Anganwadi. They expressed dissatisfaction over the limit allowed to purchase vegetables and fire-wood. Similarly, there were complaints regarding the provisions supplied, as they were not in good condition.

Problems Relating to Official Role

TABLE 4: PROBLEMS RELATING TO OFFICIAL ROLE

Sl. No.	Nature of problems	Experience background of the respondents					
		One Year (n-20)	2 years (n-21)	3 years (n-43)	4 years (n-13)	5 years (n-3)	Total
1.	Lack of opportunities for promotion	2	15	21	1	1	40
2.	Increment in salary not given	4	16	32	6	2	60
3.	Tiresome working hours	14	3	3	2	1	23
4.	Lack of job security	8	9	3	-	-	20
5.	Indifference by superiors for obligations	2	1	6	-	-	9
6.	Critical attitude of the superiors	3	-	2	1	1	7
7.	Non co-operation by the public	3	3	9	-	-	15
8.	Non co-operation by the helper	2	-	-	-	-	2
9.	Difficulty of free movement in the village	7	3	1	-	-	11
10.	Distance to the residence	4	7	2	1	1	15

The problems referred to in this context are concerned with the Anganwadi worker's role expectation from the community and other personnel for encouraging their performance efficiently. In this respect problems relating to service conditions like promotion opportunities and job security attain higher priority than problems in other respects. Problems of superior-subordinate relationship were expressed by only a few respondents.

A general problem with the workers who lack previous experience is that of their failure towards their expectation regarding co-operation from the beneficiaries. This is because the beneficiaries' needs and demands increase since their exposure to the benefits offered by other welfare agencies like Balwadis.

Anganwadi workers, being women, find it difficult to contact local leaders for help and to make regular house visits. This is a common problem with all the village level workers. Another personal problem of the workers is about the distance from their residence to their working place. Since they are travelling long distance every day they become tiresome.

Problems Faced with the Beneficiaries

TABLE 5: PROBLEMS POSED BY THE BENEFICIARIES

Sl. No.	Nature of Problems	Number of workers faced					Total
		1 Year (n-20)	2 Years (n-21)	3 Years (n-43)	4 Years (n-13)	5 Years (n-3)	
1.	Complaint on insufficient food	5	3	9	2	1	20
2.	Want of special dishes and uniforms	-	-	6	1	1	8
3.	Mothers not eating food at the centre	7	6	12	2	1	28
4.	Negligence of health and hygiene habits	1	8	12	2	-	23
5.	Absence from literacy class and craft work	4	3	9	-	1	17
6.	Irregularity in sending children to the centre	5	3	9	-	-	17

Almost all the workers face problem situations with the beneficiaries in the supply of nutritious meals, health care and educational activities. The beneficiaries complain with Anganwadi workers for insufficient food, take food to home instead of eating at the centre and express their need for special snacks and dishes. Regarding health care activities, the beneficiaries show negligence in adhering to hygienic habits. Failure to attend literacy classes and sending children to Anganwadi irregularly are the common problems faced by the respondents.

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12. DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN RURAL SHIMOGA, SOUTH INDIA: DOES IT FORETELL A STALLED DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION?

S.Krishnamoorthy and R.V.Deshpande

Introduction

Because of the continued low quality of vital statistics, demographic surveys are resorted to both at the national and regional levels to assess changes in fertility and mortality, in addition to addressing other questions of relevance to population programme. Most of these surveys provide only one shot information on fertility and mortality. Very rarely indeed repeat surveys are carried out in the same region of comparable nature, for example, the Mysore and Bangalore Population Surveys (United Nations, 1961; Srinivasan *et. al.*, 1978) and Gandhigram Studies (Srinivasan *et. al.*, 1969; Kachirayan and Krishnamoorthy, 1976).

Mysore and Bangalore Population Surveys are not strictly comparable owing to changes in sampling scheme as the sampling schemes are representative of two different regions, even though they overlap. However, the usefulness of the results of these studies cannot be under stated. The Gandhigram standard fertility survey was aimed at providing a bench-mark information for 1964 and to follow the sample of women for five years. Though the bench-mark information was representative of the Authoor community development block, the follow-up information cannot represent the area as these sample women grow older and, therefore, lose representativeness. However, Gandhigram project later undertook another sample survey in late 1971 which is to present the same area. Both the Mysore and Bangalore Population Surveys and the Gandhigram Project documented fertility change. Gandhigram Project area was an experimental area and hence it need not necessarily reflect the situation in the general population.

Mysore and Bangalore Population Surveys indicate some decline in fertility and mortality and increase in contraceptive prevalence. Other indirect methods of estimation in combination with single surveys (Krishnamoorthy and Gunasekaran, 1976 and Mari Bhat *et. al.*, 1984) or single surveys with retrospective information (Caldwell *et.al.*, 1982) also suggest reduction in fertility during the last two decades. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to establish the quantum of change from these sources because of varying geographical representations and poor quality of data associated with large scale surveys and retrospective informations under typical Indian conditions.

Shimoga Survey and Shimoga Resurvey (hereinafter called the Survey and the Resurvey respectively) conducted by the Dharwad Population Research Centre are largely free from the above criticisms and provide an unique opportunity in measuring the quantum of change in fertility, mortality and contraceptive prevalence over a period of about two decades, 1962-1979. The survey was carried out in 1963 in twelve villages situated in Shimoga District of Karnataka State. All households in these villages were covered. Again in 1980, the Resurvey was done in these twelve villages covering all the households living at that time. Hence the findings of these two surveys genuinely represent the changes that took place during the period 1962-79. Eventhough these surveys differed in quality of data as we see later, adjustments were made to make them comparable.

It is aimed here to study the changes in age at marriage, fertility, mortality and contraceptive prevalence in about two decades 1962-79, in twelve villages of Shimoga District of Karnataka. The result of such a study is expected to give new directions and policy implications.

Area and Study

Situated roughly in the mid-south western part of Karnataka State, Shimoga District has abundant natural resources. While the western part of the district is filled with mountain ranges receiving heavy rain fall, the eastern part is an open country with relatively lesser rain fall.

As regards the general demographic situation in Shimoga district, the population of Shimoga declined during 1901-1921 due to prevalence of Malaria, Plague and Influenza. During 1921-41, population grew slowly at an average annual growth rate of 0.5 per 100 population. Between 1941 and 1951 the rate of growth increased to 1.8 reaching the highest level

of 4.3 during 1951-61. During 1961-81 the rate of growth stabilized at around 2.5. Control of communicable and infectious diseases and improved socio-economic conditions are generally recognized as the causes for such an increase in population during 1941-81. In addition, two major projects namely the Bhadra Reservoir and Channel Project and Linganamakki Reservoir Project were responsible for large influx of both temporary and permanent migrants into the area during 1951-1961. By the year 1974 about 40.4 thousand hectares of land in Shimoga District was brought under irrigation. This undoubtedly increased the demand for agricultural labour which was met by in-migrant population from the neighbouring Districts (Katti and Hasalkar, 1971).

Census of India (Director of Census Operations, Karnataka, 1981) reports a sex ratio of 1055 males per 1000 females in the district and a density of 157 persons per Square K.M. in 1981. Percent of children of age 6-11 enrolled in School during 1974-75 was about 93 both for boys and girls (Government of Karnataka, 1975, p.508). Percent literate in the population was 28.1 in 1961, 36.6 in 1971 and 44.4 in 1981 according to the Census of India. These indicate a rapid increase in School enrolment during 1961-1981.

During the period of study 1962-79 we see that there are both increased employment opportunities and increased cost of children due to Schooling. There is not only direct cost involved in sending children to School but also the opportunity cost, as otherwise the children could have been employed in family farm or in cow herding.

Data and Method

Three talukas (Revenue Sub-Divisions) viz., Bhadravathi, Hosanagar and Shikarpur are selected to give a fair geographic distribution of the district. The villages in these talukas are grouped into four sub-groups according to the population size given by the 1961 Census. One village from each subgroup and taluka is randomly selected. From these 12 villages thus selected, all households were contacted both by the 1963 and by the 1980 survey (Jorapur, 1973; Patiland Katti, 1982).

Both the survey and the resurvey provide information on basic socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the population of all the households of these villages. Information on births and deaths that occurred in the households during one year prior to the survey was also obtained. It is likely that the two surveys, though held in the same

12 villages, the quality of data may be different such that comparability between them and understanding of the demographic trend will be very risky. For example, while 1963 survey yields the average number of children ever born to 40-44 year women as 5.08, the same from the resurvey is 6.21. Based on births during one year prior to the survey, a crude birth rate of 43.5 for the year 1962-1963 and 32.9 for 1979 were obtained (Patil and Katti, 1982). While the birth order shows an increasing trend in fertility, the crude birth rate shows a dramatic decline in fertility. This discrepency is attributable to the difference in quality of data between the surveys. Similarly, though one might have anticipated at least some decline in infant mortality rate, the rates based on infant deaths and births during one year prior to survey indicate a slight increase (90.3 infant deaths per 1000 births during 1962-63 and 93.4 during 1979) contrary to the general trend in India (Patil and Katti, 1982).

There is, therefore, a need to look at these data more critically, using recently developed methodology in analysing incomplete data. Though the conditions under which these methods are applicable are not fully met, it is still worthwhile to use these techniques for better understanding of the demographic situation as we would see later. Further, in the following sections, both results of analysis carried out by the authors as well as others are made use off, citing references wherever they are borrowed.

FINDINGS

A. Socio-Economic Change

In these selected villages there were 1327 households with a total population of 7470 in 1963 and these increased to 2158 and 12037 respectively in 1980. The exponential rate of increase of population is 2.8 per 100 persons which is slightly higher than the rate of increase of 2.5 in the district during 1961-1981.

As the study villages are spread in these talukas, it is worth investigating the changes in the number of households according to the taluka to which they belong. It is found that there had been an increase of 107 per cent in the number of households in the sample villages of Bhadravathi taluka, which was brought under irrigation by the Bhadra Project. Therefore, there was a large scale migration into Bhadravathi taluka as the irrigation increased the demand for labour. As regards the sample villages of the other two talukas, Hosanagar taluka villages gained 39 per cent, while

Shikarpur taluka gained only 13 per cent of households. These two talukas were not covered by the irrigation project and, therefore, it is even likely that many of the households of these talukas might have migrated to the neighbouring areas where there were greater employment opportunities created by the project. The sex ratio was 103 males per 100 females in 1963, and it was 104 in 1980. As regards the age distribution, the study population showed a tendency of aging. While there were 48.8 per cent of persons below 15 years of age in 1963, there were only 41.2 per cent in 1980. There was not much change in the proportion of population above 60 years of age. The proportion aged 60 and above was 4.3 in 1963 and 4.6 in 1980. However, these may not be taken as a direct evidence of declining fertility as we had already noticed there had been a large influx of migrants to the study area. The migrants are generally age selective and a large proportion tend to be in the economically active age range of 15-59. Therefore, we need other evidence to check whether fertility had declined and we look at them later.

Again, it is observed that the increase in the households is not uniform between the occupational category of heads of households. During 1963-80 the households with heads employed in salaried services had increased by 560 per cent due to increase in educational and other governmental institutions in the area. Heads engaged in non-agricultural unskilled labour declined by 56 per cent, most likely due to completion of the Channel Project during the period. While cultivators increased only by 28 per cent, agricultural labourers increased by 147 per cent showing again the increase in demand for agricultural labourers due to irrigation. Thus we note that even though there was an increase in demand for labour, the proportion of households owning land had only declined from 51 per cent of the total households in 1963 to 41 per cent in 1980 as the proportion of agricultural labourers increased in size. Hence, it is difficult to say whether the standard of living had increased between 1963 and 1980 in the village population even though non-migrant households might have gained economically by the irrigation facilities.

The overall literacy rate had increased from 30.5 per cent in 1963 to 43.9 per cent in 1980 in the sample population. The literacy rate among those aged 15-34 had increased from 33.6 to 55.7 and of those aged 35-44 from 29.7 to 45.0 It is, therefore, clear that the proportion of literates in the reproductive age is larger in 1980 than in 1963. As evidenced earlier the school enrolment ratio has also grown substantially during the period. Earlier studies have invariably

found the positive association between education and age at marriage and the inverse relationship between education and fertility/mortality. Possibility of increase in age at marriage and decline in fertility and mortality during the period 1963-80 is, therefore, conceivable.

As regards household income, 58.1 per cent of the households had an annual income of Rs.1000 per annum in 1963. Application of the Index number of per capita Net National Product shows that Rs.4287 of 1980 is equivalent to Rs.1000 of 1963. Percent of households in 1980 below Rs.4287 annual household income is 61.8, suggesting either no change or slight deterioration of economic level in the study villages. This may be explained by the immigration of households of lower occupational group (agricultural labourers) rather than genuine deterioration in the economic standard of the non-migrant households. Eventhough many studies indicate that migrants have lower fertility than the non-migrants, it is not appropriate to apply the same in this situation as the inmigrants belong to much lower socio-economic status than the stayers (Koteshwar, 1982, P.43, 66 Tables 2.5 and 3.9B). Hence, inmigration in this area is likely to increase rather than decrease the fertility level in the area of study.

B. Change in Marriage Pattern

Analysing the survey and the resurvey data, Kulkarni *et.al.*,(1985) concludes, that marriage is universal in the study population and that the singulate mean age at marriage computed, using synthetic cohort method, had shown an increase from 15.7 years in 1963 to 19.3 years in 1980 for girls and from 23.5 to 25.4 years for boys during the same period. Applying cohort analysis they also show that since 1950 the age at marriage of girls has been increasing and that the increase accelerated in 1970s. Upper income, education and caste groups not only had higher mean age at marriage but also show larger increase in mean age at marriage during the period 1963-1980 than the lower socio-economic groups.

C. Change in Fertility

For women aged 35-39 the average number of children ever born was 4.9 in 1963 and 5.5 in 1980 for women of the same age group indicating an increase in fertility rather than expected decline in it. These only suggest possible difference in the quality of data between the two surveys rather than the genuine changes in them. The crude birth

rate is estimated to be 43.5 and 32.9 in 1962-1963 and 1979 respectively based on the number of children born during one year prior to survey (Jorapur, 1973; Patil and Katti, 1982). Eventhough these birth rates look respectable and show the plausible direction of change, they cannot be trusted for the level and rate of change. Therefore, we resort to some indirect method of estimating fertility. Inspite of evidence for changing marriage pattern had suspected fertility decline, we apply Brass's P/F ratio method (United Nations, 1983) hoping that the P/F ratios would suggest us the possible changes in fertility.

It is not unsafe to assume unchanging marriage pattern and fertility prior to 1963 and hence application of P/F ratio method is justifiable. The trend in the P/F ratios (see Table 1) suggest us the progressive under reporting of parity by older women in the 1963 survey. The adjustment factor K* suggests an underenumeration of about 25 per cent of births. After adjustment a total fertility rate of 7.4 per woman and crude birth rate of 54 are obtained. Reverse survival method assuming estimated infant mortality, which will be reported later, yeilds a crude birth rate of 47.9 when applied to children of 0-4 age group and 57.5 when applied to children of 5-9 age group. It is well known that 0-4 population is generally under reported in the Censuses and surveys in India. Therefore, averaging the above two estimates we obtain an estimate of 52.7 as the crude birth rate. These correspond well with the observation of 48.8 per cent of population being enumerated below 15 years of age. We may, therefore, conclude that the crude birth rate of about 54 existed around the year 1962-1963.

Table 2 provides the results of similar treatment of data obtained in the resurvey in 1980. Increasing P/F ratio with age is a clear indication of declining fertility prior to 1980, as the achieved parity has to be greater than the parity equivalent when fertility is on the decline. This may be both due to increasing age at marriage as noted earlier and to declining trend in the ultimate family size.

Though we are able to get an idea on the declining trend in fertility, for the same reason, we cannot respect the final estimate based on P/F ratio method as it is not applicable under unstable conditions. Parity has to be greater than the parity equivalent obtained from age specific birth rate when both data are not subject to errors. Under declining fertility conditions, the application of adjustment factor, K* should provide an over estimate of the age specific fertility rate. Therefore, the final adjusted birth rate of 39 has to be considered as an upper limit of the birth rate in 1979.

Reverse projection method based on 0-4 age children yields a birth rate of 34 for 1974-79 and based on 5-9 age children it gives a birth rate of 40 for 1969-74. In addition it was found that only 41.2 per cent of population is below 15 years age in 1980 compared to 48.8 in 1963. Comparing these we may conclude that the crude birth rate in 1979 could not be more than 39. Clearly then there has been a substantial decline in the crude birth rate from about 54 in 1962-63 to below 39 in 1979 in the study population.

After adjustment for possible under reporting of births by using P/F ratio method, the age specific fertility rates (ASFRS) and the age specific marital fertility rates (ASMFRS) are computed and are presented in two charts (Figures 1 and 2). From Figure 1 which shows the ASFRS and ASMFRS for the year 1962-63, we understand that the differences between these are large both at the youngest and the older ages of reproduction. While the difference at the youngest age group is ascribed to the existence of never married girls, the differences in these rates above age 30 is mainly attributable to widowhood as divorces and childbearing out side wedlock are negligible.

Figure 2 shows the ASFRş and ASMFRs for the year 1979. In comparison with Figure 1, Figure 2 indicates a marked decline in ASFR between 1962-63 and 1979 in all age groups. On the other hand, the ASMFRs show a different picture. The ASMFR for the age group 15-19 had in fact increased. This may be ascribed to the increasing age at marriage as the proportion of married women tend to concentrate at the upper end of the age interval when age at marriage is higher and hence lower representation of women of adolecent sterility. Similar observation is also made by Srinivasan *et.al.* (1978). The difference between ASFR and ASMFR in 1979 narrows down with advancing age of women. We see almost no difference between these rates beyond age 30, because the proportion of women widowed and divorced is less in the year 1979. This may be due to lower mortality by 1979 than due to increased remarriage rate for widows and divorces.

Hence the difference in ASFR between 1962-63 and 1979 may be ascribed to both increasing age at marriage and fertility regulation. The total fertility rate had declined from 7.5 in 1962-63 to below 4.6 in 1979; a decline of more than 38 per cent.

D. Change in Mortality

As has been mentioned earlier both due to small data base and to difference in quality of data between the surveys,

the direct estimate of infant mortality rate based on the births and deaths occurred during one year prior to survey data showed an unbelievable trend of no change. So we apply indirect method to estimate the infant mortality rate using data on children ever born and surviving as reported by women at the time of survey.

As the quality of data on children ever born is very poor at the later half of the reproductive span, application of Feeny's (1980) or Trussell's (United Nations, 1983, P.79) method produced unacceptable trend in infant mortality rate. Blacker (1984) also faced such difficulties with African data. So the authors had to settle for estimates on infant mortality rate for two points in time based on thetwo surveys, through the application of Trussell's method (United Nations, 1983, P.79) with west model mortality pattern (Coale and Demeny, 1966) assumption. The results indicate a decline of about 30 per cent in the infant mortality rate from a level of 160 deaths in the first year of life per 1000 births around the year 1960 to 113 around 1977. This means a decline of about 2.76 units in infants mortality rate per year during this period, if we could assume a linear decline. Eventhough there was a substantial improvement in infant mortality, it may be said the level we notice in 1977 is still very high. If linearity is not assumed then we may have to conclude that the decline in infant mortality is tapering off during the seventies. This phenomenon of tapering off the decline in infant mortality is supported by Padmanabha (1982, 1984) for India in the seventies and Ruzicka and Hansluwka (1982) for South and East Asia including India.

The data do not permit us to make any estimate of adult mortality. Under the assumption of no change in divorce and in the rate of re-marriage of widows, the change in the percentage of widows in the age group 45-59 from 51 in 1963 to 34 in 1980 suggests a great improvement in adult mortality. Though nothing can be said in concrete terms these results give a feeling that adult mortality had declined much faster than the infant mortality. Such an observation is made by Preston and Mari Bhat (1984) for all India during the late sixties and early seventies approximately the same period of our study.

E.Family Planning Practices

According to a study in 1964 based on a sample of 50 per cent of the households in the same villages, among married men whose wives were in the age group 20-39 and had at least one living child, 36.5 per cent were knowledgeable about at least one modern method of contraception.

(Kale, 1966, P.46 of appendix). In 1983 all currently married women of reproductive age group 15-44 were knowledgeable of at least one method (Hasalkar, 1982).

Only four out of 310 respondents in 1964 were using one or other methods of contraception. One sterilized, two follow safe period method and one uses indeginous method. It is also clear that those who follow safe period are not having proper understanding of the method. Further the average age of all these four respondents in 37 years. Hence we may conclude that there was hardly any use of effective contraceptives in 1964. But in 1983, 28.9 per cent of all currently married women of age 15-44 are protected by one or other method of fertility regulation. Table 3 and 4 provide the percentage of contraceptive users according to age and number of living children respectively. From these tables it is clear that fertility regulation is practiced generally at the later ages of reproduction while the women had at least three or four living children. Even among those who had more than four living children only about 45 per cent of them use contraception. Along with this the fact that among those couples who use contraception, 90 per cent are sterilized indicate that mostly contraception is used for family limitation and not much with the intension of spacing between children. We also observed that there was not much decline in the ASMFR for those women below 25 years of age and that the decline in ASMFR is noticed only above the age of 25 years supports the above finding of insignificant spacing practice and more of family limitation practices.

Hasalkar (1982, P.43) also shows that per cent of users is higher among upper caste Hindus (Brahmins and Lingayats) than among Muslims, Christians and other lower caste Hindus. He also observes that couples whose wives are literates have higher contraceptive acceptance rate than others. Couples with higher household income also have higher acceptance rate than those with lower income.

Discussion

Though we find that the birth rate in 1979 is still high, a dramatic decline in fertility has been noticed during 1962-79. While there are evidences for a sharp reduction in adult mortality, the reduction in infant mortality was relatively less and it is even possible that the rate of decline in infant mortality is slowing down. During the same period the age at marriage of girls and the use of contraception have increased substantially. While the use of spacing methods is negligible, the pattern of use of permanent methods of contraception

suggests an average family size of four living children before resorting to permanent method of contraception even in 1979.

On the socio-economic front the Channel Project had made it possible to bring in much of fallow land into cultivation and even multiple croping. Large area had been brought under rice cultivation. This created large demand for agricultural labourer which was met by immigrant labourers. With the addition of immigrant families, there was increase in the number of children but the opportunities for child labour had declined due to lack of grazing land and change in croping pattern as traditionally child labour was used for grazing cattle, collecting cowdung and dry branches of trees for fuel, weeding and scaring birds away from crops. As Nag and Kak (1984) finds in a Punjab village conversion of fallow land into cultivated land, multiple croping, change from dry farming to irrigated farming and change in croping pattern have diminished the need for child labour in our study area also.

A commendable increase in school enrolment ratio in the study area has also been observed. Both the decline in need for child labour and increased school enrolment should have decreased the economic value of children. In the absence of earnings from older children due to shortage of child labour potential combined with increasing cost associated with schooling, very large families pose economic strain for the patriarch. However, as there is no other alternative old-age support, children especially sons, are even today considered as the only source of old-age support. While, on the one hand children are becoming costly, on the other hand, they are the only source of old-age support. With the introduction of education and expanding opportunities in off-farm employment, farmers tend to desire smaller number of better quality of children, so that reduction in cost of raising children as well as old-age security are assured. Many surveys indicated that a majority of couples in rural area has the ideal of two sons and a daughter. To assure this on an average about 4.5 births are required if we take into consideration the child mortality factor also.

While education and increased dowry may be the causes for the increase in age at marriage of girls, higher age at marriage is not practised with the intension of reducing fertility as even today almost all marriages are arranged by parents, though there had been some increase in the participation of brides and grooms in the process of match making (Caldwell *et.al*, 1983, P.360). When the desire for

large number of children had lost its ground and with the introduction of modern contraceptives, increase in age at marriage has lost its significance as a mechanism of fertility control. Therefore, increase in age at marriage in the study area may have the effect of postponing the first birth but does not very much determine the ultimate family size.

Decline in infant mortality though might have contributed to a decline in fertility by reducing the replacement effect and insurance motive, the level we notice even in 1979 in infant mortality is still high. Further it seems that decline in child mortality is tapering off.

These suggest that substantial part of the decline in fertility that was observed may be attributed to increase in cost of raising large number of children and reduction in infant and child mortality. Further continued decline in fertility depends on future decline in infant mortality and on programmes of old-age support. Therefore, without further decline in infant mortality and alternate old age support, the demographic transition that is underway may even be stalled.

TABLE 1

AVERAGE OBSERVED PARITY, ESTIMATED PARITY EQUIVALENT, P/F RATIOS AND ADJUSTED FERTILITY RATES FOR 1962

Age group	Average Parity $P_{(i)}$	Estimated Parity $F_{(i)}$	P/F Ratio $P_{(i)}\ F_{(i)}$	Adjusted fertility rate $f^*_{(i)} = k^*f+_{(i)}$
15-19	0.596	0.382	1.562	0.267
20-24	2.459	1.766	1.392	0.409
25-29	4.049	3.210	1.262	0.349
30-34	5.017	4.492	1.117	0.297
35-39	4.917	5.318	0.925	0.145
40-44	5.086	5.611	0.906	0.028
45-49	4.770	5.640	0.846	0.000

Foot Notes: $k^* = 1.3248$ and $f+_{(i)}$s are fertility rates adjusted for conventional age groups.

TABLE 2
AVERAGE OBSERVED PARITY, ESTIMATED PARITY EQUIVALENT, P/F RATIOS AND ADJUSTED FERTILITY RATES FOR 1979

Age group	Average Parity $P_{(i)}$	Estimated Parity $F_{(i)}$	P/F Ratio $P_{(i)}\ F_{(i)}$	Adjusted fertility rate $F_{(i)}$ $k^*\ f^+_{(i)}$
15-19	0.230	0.282	0.816	0.175
20-24	1.410	1.318	1.069	0.273
25-29	3.186	2.504	1.273	0.237
30-34	4.534	3.270	1.386	0.126
35-39	5.532	3.678	1.504	0.069
40-44	6.215	3.912	1.589	0.030
45-49	6.548	3.948	1.659	0.000

Foot Notes: $k^* = 1.1540$ and $f^+_{(i)}$s are fertility rates adjusted for conventional age groups.

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE OF CONTRACEPTIVE USERS ACCORDING TO AGE OF WIFE IN 1980

Age group	Percent of users
15-19	2.0
20-24	11.7
25-29	36.1
30-34	44.0
35-39	46.1
40-44	37.1
ALL	28.9

Source: Hasalkar (1982). *Family Planning Resurvey in Rural Shimoga*. Dharwad, India: Population Research Centre, Institute of Economic Research (Mimeograph) p.43.

TABLE 4

PERCENT OF CONTRACEPTIVE USERS ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN IN 1980

Number of living children	Percent of users
0	1.4
1	5.8
2	20.5
3	42.8
4	51.6
5	48.0
6+	43.4
ALL	28.9

Source: Hasalkar, (1982). *Family Planning Resurvey in Rural Shimoga*, Dharwad, India: Population Research Centre, Institute of Economic Research (Mimeograph) p.43.

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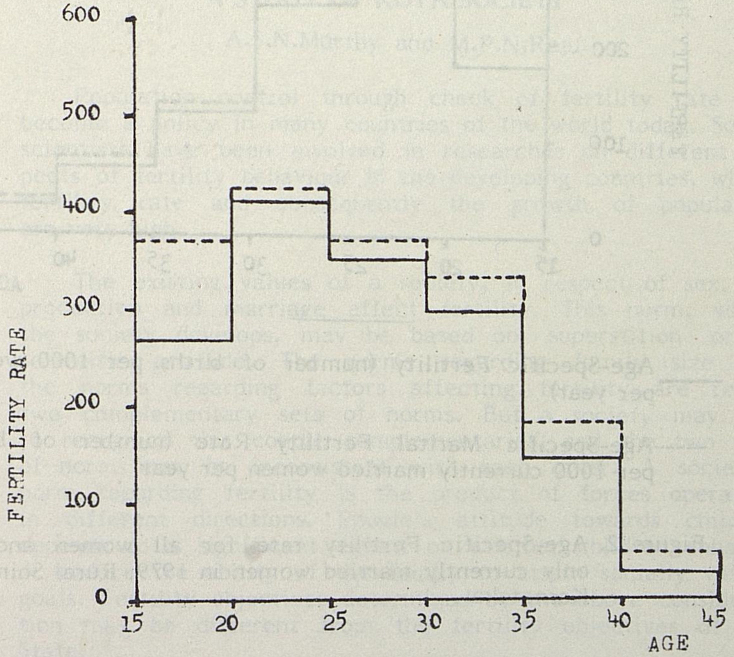
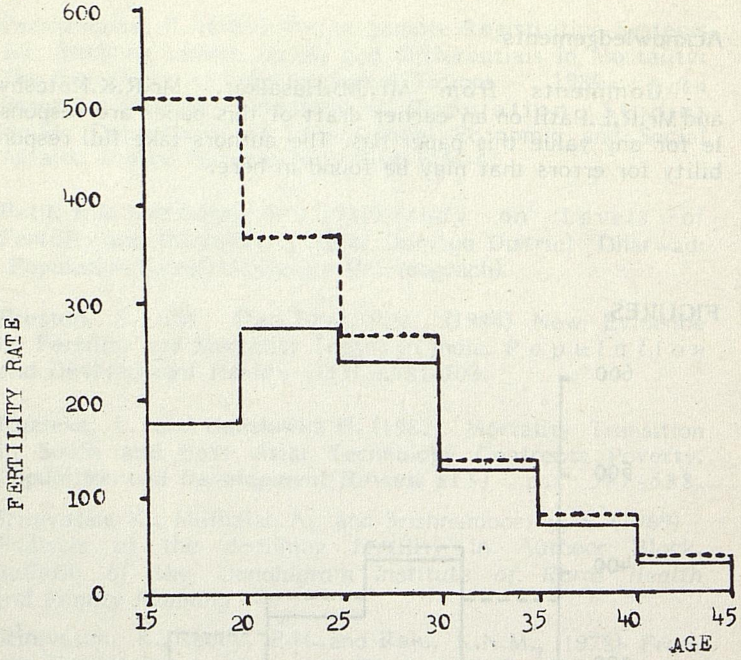
FIGURES



—— Age-Specific Fertility (number of births per 1000 women per year)

-----Age-Specific Marital Fertility Rate (number of births per 1000 currently married women per year)

Figure 1. Age-Specific Fertility rate for all women and for only currently married women in 1962-63, Rural Shimoga, Karnataka.



—— Age-Specific Fertility (number of births per 1000 women per year)

-----Age-Specific Marital Fertility Rate (number of births per 1000 currently married women per year)

Figure 2. Age-Specific Fertility rate for all women and for only currently married women in 1979, Rural Shimoga, Karnataka..

13. THE DETERMINANTS OF FERTILITY: A STUDY OF KOYA SOCIETY

A.S.N.Murthy and M.P.N.Raju

Population control through check of fertility rate has become a policy in many countries of the world today. Social scientists have been involved in researches on different aspects of fertility behaviour in the developing countries, where fertility rate and consequently the growth of population are very high.

The existing values of a society, in respect of sex, reproduction and marriage affect fertility. This norm, which the society develops, may be based on superstition or on scientific attitude. The norms regarding family size and the norms regarding factors affecting fertility are really two complementary sets of norms. But a society may fail to recognize this couple complementaries, and the two sets of norms may be inconsistent with each other. A society's norm regarding fertility is the product of forces operating in different directions. People's attitude towards children depends to a significant extent on whether children enhance or reduce the ability of the family to attain socially valued goals. Fertility objectives determined by the above consideration may be different from the fertility objectives of the State.[1]

A large variety of social processes or organizations--e.g., organization of the familial unit, religious prescriptions and practices, level of family planning movement, etc.-- determine the social norms regarding the factors that affect fertility.[2] If social environment is benevolent and if the couple enjoys the assurance of help from its community as and when required, then resistance to a large family may be weak. Parents living in a corporate kinship system or in a system of well-knit joint families may not be very calculating or fastidious about the number of their children, because they know that in any event the responsibility is corporate or joint.[3] Lorimer[4]

pointed out that "corporate kinship systems greatly enhance the value of children; joint family systems make for somewhat lower fertility; and systems based on nuclear neolocal familial unit make for still lower fertility".

In some societies, a son may be preferred to a daughter, because the prevailing religion may place the son in a previliged position *vis-a-vis* the daughter. Further, there is a craving for immortality in every mortal soul. Besides, "Utility of a child as a source of supplementary family income is higher for a son than for a daughter. Utility of a child as a source of potential security in old age is little for daughters, because in a patriarchal society, daughters become members of the families of their husbands".[5] In very many societies, because of the dowry system, a daughter's marriage costs much to the parents. In this situation, a son is considered an asset, while the daughter is considered a liability. Freedman[6] and others point out that "in industrial societies generally, at least one child of each sex is desired. An additional child may be desired just for the sake of attaining the desired minimal sex distribution. Thus a man who wants at least one son may end up with only four daughters".

In some societies, however, "poor sections--no matter whether they belong to agriculture or industry--have high fertility. It is primarily because husband and wife always live together and have no other source of entertainment except that of sexual exposure. Moreover, it is believed that every child who is born will, after sometime, start earning something even at a very young age by doing menial jobs. Parents feel that the cost of bringing--up children is much less, when compared to the high returns they will bring in when they start earning. Decision with regard to number and spacing of children and the use of contraceptives are usually male prerogatives in patriarchal sex-segregated societies, particularly those of the developing world. It has been argued that one of the cultural factors that tends to keep fertility high is that in most such societies, there appears to be a high degree of male dominance and female subservience in reproductive matters. The "levels and differentials in fertility depend on the various aspects of the social system which determine the attitudes of individuals towards reproduction and its intermediate variables".[7] Because, change in these attitudes invariably precedes change in fertility levels.

Selecting the number of live births as the dependent variable in this study, we tried to ascertain the various factors which determine the fertility among Koyas, a Scheduled Tribe in Andhra Pradesh.

Respondents' Age and Fertility

Higher age of respondents has probably an enhancing and cumulative effect on fertility level of the sample, and low age tends to be associated with low fertility. Data on respondents' age and its effect on fertility are classified and presented in the following table:

TABLE 1: RESPONDENTS' AGE AND FERTILITY

Respondents' Age	Frequency	Percentage	Average No. of live births
14-19	15	05.0	0.40
20-24	66	22.0	1.58
25-29	65	21.7	2.92
30-34	68	22.7	4.44
35-39	41	13.6	4.63
40-44	45	15.0	5.80
TOTAL	300	100.0	3.51

The table 1 shows that our assumption that the higher age of respondents has an enhancing and cumulative effect on their fertility, and that low age is associated with low fertility is suitable for our sample under study. The statistical analysis of the data reveals that 5 per cent of the sampled respondents come under the age group of 14 to 19 years, whose fertility is only 0.40. The fertility of 22 per cent of the respondents (20 to 24 age group) is 1.58 The fertility cumulatively increased when the age of the respondents increased. About 21.7 per cent of the respondents between the age group of 25 to 29 years have the fertility of 2.92. On the other hand, 22.7 per cent of the respondents under the age group of 30 to 34 years have experienced 4.44 live births; while 13.6 per cent of the respondents under the age group of 35 to 39 years have 4.65 live births, and the remaining 15 per cent under tha age group of 40 to 44 years have higher fertility (5.80 live births) than all other age groups.

Respondents' Age at Marriage and Fertility

Besides, respondents' age at marriage is also a very important variable which influences fertility. Age at marriage determines the age of entry into sexual intercourse. Rising age at marriage accounted for a significant proportion of the decline in birth rate. In our study it is proved that the higher the age at marriage the lower will be the number of live births. Age at marriage--particularly, female age at marriage--is considered as a very important demographic variable which brings fertility variations among different societies.

In the sample, it is noticed that the respondents (1.7%) whose age at marriage is less than 14 years have 4.80 live births; the fertility of the respondents (45.3%) whose age at marriage is between 14 and 16 years is 4.01; while the fertility of the respondents (43.3%) whose age at marriage is between 17 and 19 years is 3.15; and the remaining respondents (9.7%) whose age at marriage is 20 to 22 years have 2.17 live births. It shows that the fertility of the respondents who married between 20 and 22 years of age is lower (2.17) than the fertility of those respondents who married in their early ages i.e., less than 14 years (4.80). The above analysis reveals that increasing age at marraige has depressing effect on fertility in our sample.

Age at Consummation and Fertility

Age at consummation means actual entry into sexual intercourse; this also has a bearing on fertility differentials among the respondents. Data on respondents' age at consummation and its influence on fertility reveal that when the age at consummation of the respondents is below 14 years, their fertility stands at 5; when age at consummation is between 14 and 16 years, their fertility is 4.09. The respondents whose fertility is 3.23 fall under the age group (at consummation) of 17 to 19 years and the respondents whose age at consummation is 20 to 22 years have the fertility of 1.93. The above information denotes that higher age at consummation brings low fertility.

Duration of Married Life and Fertility

Duration of married life is one of the significant demographic variables determining the level of fertility. Data on this variable and respondents' fertility level reveal that the fertility of the respondents with less than 5 years of married life is 0.61; and is low when compared to the fertility of

the respondents with marital duration of 5 to 9 years (2.61). On the other hand, the fertility of the respondents with marital life of 10 to 14 years is lower (4.07), than the fertility of the respondents having a married life of 15 to 19 years (4.48). The fertility of the respondents having a marital union of 25 to 29 years is 5.67, whereas the fertility of the respondents whose duration of married life is 30 years and above is 8. The above analysis reveals that when the duration of married life is longer, the fertility is higher among the people concerned.

Husband's Age and Fertility

Respondent's husband's age is also a very important demographic variable, which affects fertility of an individual. Statistical break-up of relevant data is as follows:

TABLE 2: HUSBAND'Ş AGE AND FERTILITY

Age Group	Frequency	Percentage	Average No. of Live Births.
14-19	2	00.7	0.00
20-24	19	06.3	0.63
25-29	44	14.6	1.68
30-34	48	16.0	2.67
35-39	50	16.7	3.78
40-44	62	20.7	4.10
45-49	46	15.3	4.48
50-54	20	06.7	5.65
55 & above	9	03.0	6.33
TOTAL	300	100.0	3.51

Regarding the husband's age and its influence on fertility, the age group 55 and above years has fallen under the category of highest fertility i.e., 6.33; 20 to 24 age group falls under less significant category whose fertility is only 0.63; 50 to 54 age group comes under the significant category i.e., 5.65; 45 to 49 age group represents 4.48 live births. 40 to 44 age group has fallen under the marginal category whose fertility is 4.10; 35 to 39 age group falls under 3.78 and 30 to 34 and 25 to 29 age groups respondents have 2.67

and 1.68 live births respectively. 14 to 19 age group respondents fall under the category of negligible group whose fertility is 0. The above analysis shows that the current age of the husband has a direct bearing on the fertility among the Koyas.

Family Size and Fertility

Family size is defined as the number of persons living in a particular household. Couples who perceive the large family as an economic burden may be tempted to adopt small family norms. On the other hand, if the couples see an economic advantage in a large family and also consider such a family as a source of help, they may not be induced to adopt family limitations; in fact they may allow high fertility. In this study most of the Koyas feel that a family of large size is an economic advantage for them. so that, they prefer a large number of children.

Respondent's Occupation and Fertility

Female occupation determines a woman's role in social organization and her living conditions, which in turn determine her social status. In societies where women work outside their homes, the fertility declines. Employment outside the home provides alternative satisfaction.

TABLE 3: RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATION AND FERTILITY

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage	Average No.of Live Births
Coolie	114	38.0	3.22
Cultivation	145	48.3	3.52
Household work	36	12.0	4.14
Forest work	5	1.7	3.80
TOTAL	300	100.0	3.51

The respondents' occupation and their fertility levels are as follows. The respondents (12%) who engaged in household work have 4.14 average number of live births each. The second place is occupied by the respondents who engaged in forest work and their average number of live births is 3.80. Those respondents who were engaged in cultivation and

coolie (work) occupied third and fourth rank, and their average number of live births were 3.52 and 3.22 respectively. The above analysis shows that married women who engaged in household work have high fertility than the women who engaged in non-familial work, especially work away from their homes.

Number of Earning Adults and Fertility

It is seen the number of earning adults in the family is negatively correlated with fertility. Where the earning adults are 3, the average number of live births are 4.10; in the families where the earning adults are 4, the average number of live births are 3.59, which occupies second place and 2 and below (60.3%) occupies third place and 7 and above (1.7%) occupies fourth place with the average number of live births as 3.20.

Husband's Occupation and Fertility

Occupation determines the social conditions in which the couple lives. It also influences the mental make-up of the couple. A Husband's occupation is an important factor in determining the socio-economic position of the family.

Regarding the relationship between husband's occupation and respondent's fertility level, the empirical data reveal that the respondent whose husband's occupation is Patel i.e., Village Headman (1.3%) have high fertility (5.50), followed by those engaged in forest work (3.7%) with a fertility of 4.55 live births; those working as carpenters (1.7%) stand at 3.60 and the agriculturists (72%) stand at 3.45; while the coolies (19.6%) have 3.39 live births. It is quite significant to note that the fertility is low (2.50) among the teachers. It is found that lower fertility is more pronounced among modern occupational group than the traditional occupational groups.

Respondent's Education and Fertility

Education is an important variable which determines the status of an individual about family planning and also it gives rise to ideas and institutions of modern culture. With the attainment of modern culture, people start finding fulfilment in social relationship independently of the number of children. To determine the impact of the respondent's educational attainment on fertility, we consider the following hypothesis; fertility differs among the couples due to differences in educational attainment of the wives.

Our analysis shows that the fertility of the respondents who were illiterate is higher (3.53) than the fertility of the respondents who were literate (2.20). This shows that our hypothesis is correct regarding respondents' educational level and their fertility rate.

Husband's Education and Fertility

Our data on husband's education and fertility reveal that the influence of husband's education on fertility is significant. Our analysis shows that those respondents whose husbands are illiterate have high fertility (3.73), whereas the fertility is low (2.70) among the respondents whose husbands are literate. The above discussion reveals that the influence of education on fertility has been found to be significant.

Birth Interval and Fertility

The first birth interval is the gap between the respondent's age at consummation and the respondent's age at first pregnancy, which has a significant bearing on fertility.

The first birth interval and its influence on fertility levels of the respondents are classified into five categories. Those with short birth interval of 12 month and below (58.3%) had the highest average number of live birth i.e., 4.14; 13 to 24 months (24.7%) occupy second place (3.69 live births); third place is occupied by the respondents in the class interval 25 to 36 months (2%) with a fertility of 3.66 live births. The respondents in the class interval of 37 to 48 months (1%) have 3.33 live births; and the respondents whose 1st birth interval is 49 months and above (3%) have low fertility i.e., 2.66. The above cited findings prove that the short period of first birth interval affirms high fertility where long period of first birth interval affirms low fertility.

Family Structure and Fertility

The fertility of a society is expected to be influenced by its dominant family structure. It is generally hypothesized that nuclear families promote lower fertility than the extended or joint families. Contrary arguments were also found: there are various norms of behaviour for spouses in joint families which depress fertility.

Our sample consists of 63.7 per cent of the respondents living in nuclear families and the remaining 36.3 per cent of them in joint families. The above table shows that the fertility of those respondents who were living in nuclear

TABLE 4: FAMILY TYPE AND FERTILITY

Type of Family	Frequency	Percentage	Average No. of Live births
Joint	109	36.3	2.95
Nuclear	191	63.7	3.83
TOTAL	300	100.0	3.51

families is higher (3.83) than the fertility of those respondents living in joint families (2.95). This result is against our hypothesis. We hypothesized that joint families promote high fertility than nuclear families, but the results here proved otherwise. This is due to the fact that taboos on sexual intercourse on religious days are strictly enforced in joint families than in nuclear families; and also privacy is greater in nuclear families. Low privacy of couples in joint families to a large extent curtails their freedom--even to talk to each other--which leads to restriction of sexual activity. Restriction of sexual activity reduces coital frequency, which has a direct bearing on fertility.

Family Type and Concern About No. of Children

Regarding family type and respondents' concern about the number of children, 41.9 per cent of the respondents living in nuclear families have no specific desire; whereas, in joint families 46.8 per cent have no specific desire. 1.6 per cent of respondents living in nuclear families desire to have 2 children; and in joint families their percentage is only 0.9., 6.8 per cent of respondents living in nuclear families desired to have 3 children as against 7.3 per cent in joint families. 12 per cent of respondents living in nuclear families and 18.4 per cent in joint families desired to have 4 and 5 children respectively. 4.2 per cent of the respondents living in nuclear families and 3.7 per cent of those in joint families desired to have 6 children each. 0.5 per cent of respondents of nuclear families and 0.9 per cent of respondents living in joint families desired to have 7 and more children. 33.5 per cent and 22.0 per cent of respondents living in both nuclear and joint families could not say anything about it.

The analysis reveals that respondents who desire 3 and less number of children in both type of families are low, i.e., 8.4 per cent in nuclear and 8.3 per cent in joint families. Comparative types of families are encouraging high fertility.

Family Type and Belief in Having More Children as an Economic Advantage

In our sample, about 32.5 per cent of respondents living in nuclear families and 14.7 per cent of the respondents living in joint families opined that a large family is not economically advantageous. Less than one per cent of the respondents living in the joint families could not say anything about it. Thus significantly higher proportion of the respondents living in both joint and nuclear families believe in large family as an economic advantage.

Type of the Family and Opinion on Prevention of Birth by Any Means as a Religious Offence

Statistical analysis of the data on family type and respondents' opinion on prevention of birth by any means as a religious offence reveals that out of 109 respondents living in joint families, 80.8 per cent of the respondents felt prevention of birth by any means as a religious offence; 27.8 per cent of them reported that they have no idea about it; while, 1.5 per cent of the nuclear families, 70.7 per cent of them stated prevention of birth by any means as a religious offence, whereas majority of the respondents 27.8 per cent reported no opinion and 1.5 per cent of majority of the respondents both living in nuclear (70.7%) and joint (8.8%) do not favour the minimising of their respective families by using any kind of contraceptives.

Family Type and Kin Protection to Respondent's Children During Crisis

The empirical data reveal that out of 191 respondents who were living in nuclear families, 35.6 per cent of them reported that kin should protect their children in times of crisis or of need; 17.3 per cent reported kin should not protect their children in times of need; 47.1% of the respondents could not say about it. On the other hand, out of 109 respondents living in joint families, 38.5 per cent reported that kin should protect respondents' children in times of need or crisis; 17.4 per cent of the respondents said kin should not protect their children in

times of need; the remaining 44.1 per cent of them could not say whether the kin should protect the children during crisis or not. The analysis reveals that kinship involvement in joint families is to some extent higher than in nuclear families.

Family Type and Acceptance of Family Planning

Regarding family type and respondents acceptance of family planning, the above analysis reveals that 48.2 per cent of the respondents living in nuclear families accepted the adoption of family planning; 43.5 per cent of the 8.3 per cent of the respondents reported that they cannot say whether they should adopt it or not. Out of 109 respondents living in joint families, only 31.2 per cent accepted the adoption of family planning and the remaining 13.7 per cent of them could not say about it. From the above analysis we conclude that comparatively larger number of respondents living in nuclear families (48.2%) than in joint families (31.2%) are in favour of family planning adoption.

Family Type and Belief in Fatalism

Analysis of our sample data reveals that out of 191 respondents living in nuclear families, 80.6 per cent are of the belief that everything is predetermined by fate; only 0.5 per cent have given negative response and 18.9 per cent could not say anything. On the other hand, 93.6 per cent of the respondents living in joint families believe in predetermination by one's own fate; only 1.8 per cent have given negative response; and the remaining 4.6 per cent of the respondents reported that they cannot say whether everything is predetermined by fate or not.

Religion and Fertility

Among various socio-cultural factors, religion has been considered as very important factor having bearing on fertility behaviour of a given society. Religion prescribes a code of life, refers to a system of beliefs, attitudes and practices which individuals share in groups. An account of the rites and rituals of the Koyas leads us to infer that religion dominates their day-to-day life, particularly in their fertility behaviour.

Fertility and Respondents' Belief that Everything is Predetermined by Fate

Among Koyas it has been found that there is a significant relationship between fertility and the respondents' belief

that everything is predetermined by fate. Respondents who hold the belief that everything is predetermined by fate have the fertility of 3.59; on the other hand, respondents who did not hold that kind of belief have the fertility of 2.00; and the respondents who do not have any idea about it has the fertility.

The empirical data also show that among Koyas prevention of child birth by any means is an offence against God. Respondents who agreed with the statement that prevention of birth by any means is an offence against God or Karma have high fertility (3.83); whereas, respondents who disagreed with the statement have low fertility (2.50). The respondents who could not say anything about it have a fertility of 3.75 live births.

Fertility and Belief in Births and Deaths According to Past Karma

Most of the Koyas believe that births and deaths occur according to one's own past Karma. This belief in past Karma encourages high fertility among them.

TABLE 5: FERTILITY AND BIRTHS AND DEATHS ACCORDING TO PAST KARMA

Responses	Frequency	Percentage	Average No. of live births.
Agree	284	94.7	3.55
Disagree	10	3.3	2.70
No opinion	6	2.0	3.00
TOTAL	300	100.0	3.51

The above analysis of the Koyas' belief that births and deaths occur according to one's own past Karma and its effect on their fertility behaviour reveals that the respondents who believe in past Karma have high fertility (3.53); whereas, the fertility of the respondents who disagree with such belief is low, i.e., 2.70.

Empirical data on religious influence on fertility among Koyas show that their strong belief in supernatural powers, encourages high fertility. To them birth control is sin and they do not allow prevention of births, by any means. This directly influences the reproductive levels of Koya women.

Summary

On the basis of the above discussions we consider influence of following socio-economic, demographic and cultural factors on fertility. Among demographic factors respondents' present age, age at marriage, duration of married life and husband's age were the main factors which have much bearing on Koyas fertility. Empirical Data shows that higher age has an enhancing and cumulative effect on fertility of Koyas and lower age associated with low fertility. Same is the case with other demographic variables like age at marriage, duration of marriage life and husband's present age.

Occupations of the couples also have an important determinent factor of fertility among Koyas. The empirical study shows that the fertility is high among the women who engaged in 'household work than the women who engaged in occupations other than household work. The husband's occupation also has much bearing on the fertility levels of Koya women, i.e., the respondents whose husbands are engaged in modern occupation have lower fertility than the respondents whose husbands are engaged in traditional occupation. It has been told that education of the couples also have important influence on their fertility levels in Koya society. The fertility is low among the literates and it is high among illiterates.

Imperical Data reveal that fertility is higher among female respondents who live in nuclear families than the fertility of the respondents who live in joint families. This result is against to general expectation. Generally the joint families promote higher fertility than nuclear families, but the results proved here otherwise. This is due to the fact that among Koyas privacy is higher in nuclear families than in joint families. In joint families the freedom of couples to meet in privacy and even to talk to each other is curtailed by elders of the family. This could lead to restriction of sexual activity. Lack of adequate living space in joint families may reduce the coitus frequency and the couple may have to wait for an opportunity for sexual union. On the other hand there is no such dearth privacy in nuclear families. The greater privacy in nuclear families may cause high fertility among Koyas. Empirical study also reveals that due to higher religiosity among Koyas, the fertility levels are very high.

Finally we may conclude that in societies like Koyas "where women have low social status, their dependency on children for social and economic support, where children participate in household work as well as in economic activities from their early ages, and where people like Koyas have high religiosity, the fertility is high".

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14. MODERNIZATION AND FERTILITY

P.Jayarami Reddy

Introduction

All the modernized societies have low fertility as compared to those which are traditional in nature. Even within the same nation different social, economic and cultural groups are likely to vary in their level of modernization and fertility. Modernization, it is believed, tends to limit the number of children. A number of scholars have considered modernization as a multi-faceted phenomenon (Inkeles, 1966; Kahl, 1968).

Modernity has been defined by a variety of indices such as level of education, exposure to mass media, urban residence, type of occupation, ownership of modern household articles or degree of adherence to religious or cultural traditions (Fawcett, 1970). Defining modern man, Inkeles (1966) said that it is only when a man has undergone a change in spirit and has acquired new ways of thinking, feeling and acting, that we can consider him truly modern. The Harward Project (Smith and Inkeles, 1966) showed that the overall modernity of an individual has greater explanatory effect than that of all other variables combined together. In other words, an individual's general attitudes and values towards modern life are found to be more powerful than his actual amount of education, urban-rural residence or other experience with modern institutions.

The aim of the present paper is to examine whether the non-slum and the slum dwellers differ in level of modernization and also to find out as to what extent the existing variations in fertility between the non-slum and the slum dwellers would be due to the expected differences in their level of modernization. Operationally, the non-slum dwellers are defined as those belonging to higher socio-economic

status and residing in areal units having well planned *pucca* structures mostly of permanent nature, with adequate private latrines, water facilities, *pucca* roads and enjoying many basic amenities of urban life. In contrast, the slum dwellers are those of low socio-economic status and residing in areal units having *kutcha* structures mostly of temporary nature, huddled together with practically no private latrines and poor amenities of civic life.

For the present study, "modernization" defined by Inkeles (1966) as a complex but coherent set of psychic dispositions manifested in general qualities such as a sense of subjective efficacy, orientation toward time,readiness for new experience and change, and interest in planning, is adopted. The dimensions of modernizations examined here are: openness to change, possession of modern household articles, general planning, aspirations for education of children and interspouse communication.

Methodology

A two-stage simple random sampling technique was adopted for the present study. The respondents were Telugu speaking Hindu couples married only once, the wife not exceeding 44 years of age at the time of survey and also having two or more living children. Muslims were not covered due to the occurrence of Hindu-Muslim riots at the time of survey. Also, the other religious groups were not considered as each of them constituted an insignificant proportion of the total population of Hyderabad city.

For the first stage of sampling, all the eleven census enumeration blocks of Hyderabad city covered by the Sample Registration Scheme (SRS) were chosen. The non-slum and the slum households of Hindu religion having eligible couples satisfying the criteria cited above were listed separately.

From these two independent lists, an equal sample of 240 non-slum and 240 slum households were selected at random. In the case of households having two or more eligible couples, only one was selected randomly since all of them belonged to the same socio-economic status. Thus, a total sample of 480 couples consisting of 240 non-slum and 240 slum dwellers were selected at random. This formed the second stage of sampling.

Results and Discussion

The slum dwellers, on the average, had 4.49 live births

as against 2.96 live births for the non-slum dwellers. Thus, the fertility of the slum dwellers was higher by 51.7 per cent in comparison to that of the non-slum dwellers. Even after controlling the present age, the fertility of the respondents having wives above 35 years of age was 6.25 live births for the slum dwellers in comparison to 3.80 live births for the non-slum dwellers. This is clear evidence of significantly high fertility of the slum dwellers as compared with the non-slum dwellers. Differentials in level of modernization and the contribution of the selected modernity dimensions in explaining the fertility variations within and between the non-slum and the slum dwellers are discussed below.

i) Openness to Change

Indian society which is historically traditional has experienced rapid changes in customs, traditions and values in the recent past. The emphasis on early marriage of females and the social restrictions that were imposed on female education, particularly on their employment, have been greatly relaxed due to many social reforms resulting in greater social awakening of the people. Nevertheless, a substantial proportion of the rural population and considerable percentage of the urban residents, particularly the slum dwellers, seem to be still holding traditional views regarding the marriageable age, education and employment of females. In the present study, openness to change was measured in terms of their readiness for new experience and change. Those who did not accept change were considered less modern, because modernity meant acceptance of change, innovation and departure from tradition (Inkeles, 1966). To assess their degree of openness to change, the respondents were requested to indicate the probable period instead of probable age, for arranging their daughter's marriage because of poor conceptualisation of the slum dwellers due to their low educational status.

A greater proportion of the slum dwellers were holding traditional views regarding the time of celebrating their daughter's marriage since one-half of them (50.0%) wanted to arrange their daughter's marriage before/immediately after puberty in contrast to only 6 per cent of the non-slum dwellers wishing to arrange their daughter's marriage after attainment of puberty. This shows the insignificant effect of urbanization in fostering modern values among the slum dwellers. About two-thirds (66.3%) of the non-slum dwellers, in comparison to only one-tenth (10.0%) of the slum dwellers expressed the desire to arrange marriage of their daughters only after the completion of their education which most probably leads to relatively late marriage.

TABLE - 1

Mean live births to the non-slum and the slum dwellers by their views about the time for arranging daughters' marriage

Time for arranging daughter's marriage	Mean live births Non-slum	Slum *
Before puberty		4.50 (34)
Immediately after puberty	3.43 (14)	4.33 (88)
Sometime after puberty	3.06 (66)	4.35 (89)
After completion of Education	2.88 (160)	4.21 (24)

* 5 respondents who reported as uncertain were excluded.

Figures in the brackets indicate the number of respondents.

A negative relationship between the reported time for arranging daughter's marriage and fertility was noticed for both the non-slum and the slum dwellers. However, the trend was more conspicuous in the non-slum dwellers than the slum dwellers. The non-slum dwellers holding modern views about the time for arranging daughter's marriage i.e., those intending to celebrate marriage only after completion of education generally leading to relatively late marriage, had 0.55 live births less than those wishing to arrange marriage immediately after puberty. The insignificant differences in fertility observed among the four categories of slum dwellers may be due to their slow rate of acceptance of change. The non-slum dwellers in each of the categories had significantly less fertility than their counterparts among the slum dwellers (Sig.at 0.01 level) and the gap between them had widened with higher level of modernization.

ii) Ownership of Modern Household Articles

The non-slum and the slum dwellers differed significantly with regard to ownership of modern household articles such as newspaper, radio, wrist watch, furniture (chairs and tables) and kitchen materials (cups, saucers, steel plates and tumblers). As many as 33 per cent of the slum dwellers did not

own any of the modern articles listed, in contrast to none of the non-slum dwellers in this category. About 74 per cent of the non-slum dwellers owned all the modern household articles and another 23 per cent had all the articles except newspaper as against 14 per cent and 33 per cent of the slum dwellers in the respective categories.

TABLE - 2

Mean live births to the non-slum and the slum dwellers by ownership of modern household articles

Modern household articles owned	Mean live births	
	Non-slum	Slum
No modern articles owned		4.26 (78)
Kitchen materials & furniture only	3.57 (7)	4.37 (51)
Kitchen materials, furniture and radio	3.00 (55)	4.35 (78)
Kitchen materials, furniture, radio and newspaper	2.91 (178)	4.33 (33)

Cross-tabulation of the modern households articles owned with the fertility of the respondents did not reveal significant natality differentials for the non-slum and also the slum dwellers. However, the non-slum as well as the slum dwellers who owned all the modern household articles listed above had slightly less fertility than those owning some articles. Nevertheless, the fertility of the slum dwellers possessing 'no modern article' was slightly less than those owning some/ all modern articles. Thus, mere possession of modern articles by the slum dwellers did not result in lowering their fertility as modern outlook has yet to develop among them. The acquisition of modern household articles by some of the slum dwellers may be due to their mere identification with the non-slum dwellers of higher socio-economic strata in the same or neighbourhood locality, without acquiring their modern values favouring low fertility. Further, the effect of modern household articles on the fertility of the slum dwellers, if any, may be nullified by the operation of other intervening variables., such as, high incidence of infant and childhood mortality, old age security etc., favouring high fertility.

The non-slum dwellers possessing 'all the listed modern articles' and 'all the articles except newspaper' had 1.42 and 1.35 live births respectively, as compared to the corresponding slum dwellers (Sig. at 0.01 level). Two-way analysis of variance revealed that the non-slum and the slum dwellers differ in fertility significantly at 5 per cent level in relation to their possession of modern household articles.

iii) General Planning

Propensity to plan is a characteristic of modernization. It was generally noticed that those who observe planning in different aspects of family life also show a tendency to plan their family size (U.N., 1974). Hence, it was hypothesised that those who normally plan for the quality of life are more likely to have low fertility. The general planning of the individual was examined in relation to three crucial variables such as economic planning, advance planning for daughter's marriage and also family size. The effect on fertility of each of these three variables was examined independently.

(a) Economic Planning

To determine planning of finance in the family, the respondents were asked to state whether they were saving money for the future. Nearly three-fifths (57.5%) of the non-slum dwellers, in contrast to less than one-sixths (17.9%) of the slum dwellers, reported that they were saving money for the future. Thus, economic planning was very poor among the slum dwellers although 72 per cent of them were either natives or residents of Hyderabad city for more than 21 years.

The hypothesis confirmed for the slum dwellers was that those who observe economic planning in the family would have less fertility than those who do not observe planning for the future. The slum dwellers who planned for future life, as a whole, had 0.62 live births less as compared to those who did not observe economic planning(Sig. at 0.05 level). The over-all fertility of the non-slum dwellers observing economic planning for future life was also less by 0.22 live births as against those who did not observe planning. But, the difference in fertility was statistically insignificant.

A definite negative relationship between economic planning and fertility was observed for the non-slum and the slum dwellers of middle and late reproductive age groups.

TABLE - 3

Mean live births to the non-slum and the slum dwellers by economic planning

Saving of money	Present age of wife							
	< 24		25-34		35+		Total	
	Non-Slum	Slum	Non-Slum	Slum	Non-Slum	Slum	Non-Slum	Slum
Not saving	2.25 (16)	2.59 (34)	3.06 (71)	4.18 (99)	4.07 (15)	5.80 (64)	3.08 (102)	4.43 (197)
Saving	2.46 (24)	2.58 (12)	2.71 (85)	3.96 (23)	3.62 (29)	5.25 (8)	2.86 (138)	3.81 (43)

The trend was more conspicuous among the middle-aged non-slum dwellers as those with better economic planning had 0.35 live births less in comparison to those observing poor planning (Sig. at 0.05 level). The non-slum dwellers with better economic planning had less fertility than the corresponding slum dwellers in each of the middle and the late reproductive age groups and also as a whole (Sig. at 0.01 level).

(b) Advance Planning for Daughter's Marriage

Nearly all the marriages of the non-slum dwellers and to a considerable extent in the case of the slum dwellers were arranged marriages. Large amount of money was spent on the celebration of marriages, sometimes leading to indebtedness. A survey conducted in slum areas of Hyderabad and Secunderabad revealed that 17 per cent of the sample households were indebted out of which 38.6 per cent had borrowed money to perform marriages and other ceremonies (Bureau of Economics & Statistics, Govt. of A.P., 1980).

In the present study the respondents were asked to indicate the probable time of initiation of advance planning for meeting the marriage expenses of the daughter. Advance planning from childhood of the daughter was reported by 50 per cent of the non-slum dwellers as against only 16 per cent of the slum dwellers. On the other hand, 81 per cent of the slum dwellers reported 'no advance planning' in contrast to 29 per cent of the non-slum dwellers.

TABLE - 4

Mean live births of the non-slum and the slum dwellers by advance planning for daughters' marriage

Planning for daughter's marriage	Mean live births	
	Non-slum	Slum
No planning	3.13 (69)	4.44 (194)
Planning after puberty	3.00 (51)	4.63 (8)
Planning from childhood	2.82 (120)	3.68 (38)

The slum dwellers who reported advance planning from childhood of the daughter had 0.76 live births less as compared to those who stated 'no advance planning' for meeting the marriage expenses (Sig.at 0.05 level). The non-slum dwellers who observed advance planning since childhood of the daughter for meeting her marriage expenses also had less fertility as compared to those who reported 'no planning' and 'planning after attaining puberty', but the differences were not statistically significant. However, the non-slum dwellers in each of the three categories had significantly less fertility as compared to the corresponding slum dwellers. Two-way analysis of variance revealed significant differences in fertility (Sig. at 0.05 level) between the non-slum and the slum dwellers in relation to advance planning for daughter's marriage.

c) Planning of Family Size

To know about the planning of family size, the respondents were asked to state whether they had thought at any time about the number of children required for their family or just conceived them without any prior thought. An overwhelming proportion of the non-slum dwellers (88.3%) as against 56 per cent of the slum dwellers reported that they had thought about family size prior to begetting children.

The hypothesis strongly confirmed for both the non-slum and the slum dwellers was that those who think about their family size prior to begetting children would have less fertility than those who never think about it. The non-slum dwellers who reported prior planning regarding family size had 0.70

TABLE - 5

Mean live births to the non-slum and the slum dwellers by planning of family size

Planning of family size	Present age of wife							
	$\leq$ 24		25-34		35+		Total	
	Non-slum	Slum	Non-slum	Slum	Non-slum	Slum	Non-slum	Slum
Not planned	2.00 (4)	2.29 (7)	3.28 (18)	4.63 (43)	5.50 (6)	5.95 (55)	3.57 (28)	5.16 (105)
Planned	2.42 (36)	2.64 (39)	2.81 (138)	3.87 (79)	3.50 (38)	5.06 (17)	2.87 (212)	3.67 (135)

live births less as compared to those who never thought about family size (Sig. at 0.01 level). Similarly, the over-all fertility of the slum dwellers with prior thought about family size was less by 1.49 live births as against those without prior thought about it (Sig. at.0.01 level).

A negative relationship between planning of family size and fertility was observed for the middle-aged non-slum dwellers (Sig. at 0.05 level) and the slum dwellers of middle (Sig. at 0.01 level) and late reproductive (Sig. at 0.05 level) age groups. Also, the fertility of the middle-aged and the late reproductive as well as the total non-slum dwellers who reported prior thought about family size was less by 1.06, 1.56 and 0.80 live births respectively, as compared to the corresponding slum dwellers with prior planning regarding family size (Sig. at 0.01 level). These findings clearly indicate that planning of family size is a powerful predictor of fertility variations between the non-slum and the slum dwellers and also within the latter group.

iv) Aspirations for Education of Children

Parents generally aspire a better life for their children. The opportunities for brighter future in the modern world seem to be closely linked with the educational status of the persons, thus motivating the parents to aspire better education for their offsprings. In Taiwan, 67 per cent of the husbands said that they expected at least one of their children to attend college and an additional 13 per cent

spoke of high school (Arnold, 1970). Strong parental aspiration for the education of children was assumed to inhibit high fertility.

In the present study, the aspirations of the parents for the education of their children were ascertained by asking each respondent to indicate the highest level of education that he expects one of his daughters to attain. This question was asked with regard to the education of the daughter rather than the son to get variation of responses as the pilot study revealed high aspirations among the non-slum and the slum dwellers for the education of son(s) due to expectation of economic or emotional security from them in old age. About 80 per cent of the non-slum dwellers aspired college education for their daughters as against only 30 per cent of the slum dwellers. On the other hand, nearly 20 per cent of the slum dwellers aspired 'no education' for their daughters and in additional 10 per cent expected only primary education in contrast to almost none of the non-slum dwellers aspiring such a low education for their daughters.

TABLE - 6

Mean live births to the non-slum and the slum dwellers by aspirations for the education of their daughters

Parental aspirations for daughter's education	Mean live births	
	Non-slum*	Slum*
No education	4.00 (1)	5.15 (47)
Primary education	2.00 (1)	4.04 (23)
Secondary education	3.50 (27)	4.14 (78)
College education	2.89 (191)	4.11 (72)

* 20 each of the non-slum and the slum dwellers who reported as 'uncertain' were excluded.

The data in table 6 confirmed the hypothesis that those aspiring after high education for their children would have less fertility as compared to those aspiring after low education or no education. The non-slum dwellers who aspired after college education for their daughters had 0.61 live

births less as compared to those expecting secondary education for them (Sig. at 0.05 level).''On the other hand, the slum dwellers who expected primary, secondary and college education for their daughters did not differ in fertility from each other but had one live birth less as compared to those who aspired 'no education' (Sig. at 0.05 level). This was corroborated by a study on acceptance of Intra Uterine Device (IUD) among middle-class urban dwellers in India (Dubey, 1969) which reported that acceptors of IUD showed exceptionally high educational aspirations for their children. Similarly, Westoff (1962) found the emphasis on children's education as a highly important factor in explaining greater success of Jews in family planning as compared to Catholics and Protestants in the United States of America.

When compared with the fertility of the slum dwellers aspiring after college and secondary education for their daughters, those non-slum dwellers who aspired after college education had 1.22 live births less (Sig. at 0.01 level) whereas those who expected only secondary education had 0.64 live births less (Sig. at 0.05 level). Two-way analysis of variance reported significant differences in fertility between the non-slum and the slum dwellers (Sig.at 0.01 level) in relation to aspirations for education of children. Thus, differential aspirations for the education of children account for significant variations in fertility within and between the non-slum and the slum dwellers.

v) Husband-Wife Communication

Interspouse communication and decision-making in the family have been reported to be positively correlated with effective family limitation (Mitchell, 1972; Chung, 1973; U.N, 1974). Modesty among women tends to be negatively correlated with interspouse communication and Indian women were reported as more modest with regard to sex related matters than the Chinese, European and Eurasian women (U.N., 1974). However, the U.N. survey (1974) reported interspouse communication about family planning and family size among 89 per cent of urban respondents and 77 per cent of the rural respondents from India. Also, the proportion of the current contraceptive users was reported as positively related to the degree of interspouse communication. In the present study, 80 per cent of the non-slum dwellers, in contrast to 40 per cent of the slum dwellers, reported that they had discussion with their wives regarding planning of family size.

The data in table 7 revealed the negative relationship between interspouse communication and fertility. The slum

TABLE - 7

Mean live births to the non-slum and the slum dwellers by interspouse communication regarding planning of family size

Interspouse communication	Mean live births	
	Non-slum	Slum
No interspouse communication	3.11 (47)	4.52 (144)
Interspouse communication	2.91 (193)	4.02 (96)

dwellers who reported interspouse communication about planning of family size, as a whole, had 0.50 live births less as compared to those who had 'no interspouse communication' (Sig. at 0.05 level). The overall fertility of the non-slum dwellers having interspouse communication was less than that of those without interspouse communication; however, the difference was not statistically significant. The observed inverse relationship between interspouse communication and fertility was corroborated by Mukherjee (1979) who found more favourable disposition to small family norm among women having better communication with their husbands regarding family planning. The non-slum dwellers who reported interspouse communication had 1.11 live births less as compared to the slum dwellers having interspouse communication (Sig. at 0.01 level). Thus, variations in interspouse communication predict significant differences in fertility between the non-slum and the slum dwellers and also within the latter group.

Summary and Implications

The level of modernization was low among the slum dwellers as compared to the non-slum dwellers. Although urban exposure was expected to foster modern values, it was not true in the case of slum dwellers. Acceptance of change from traditional practices seems to be very slow among them. A substantial proportion of the slum dwellers still intended to celebrate daughters marriage before/immediately after attaining puberty (50.8%) and also did not observe any planning in the family with regard to family budget

(82.0%), marriages (80%) and also family size (44%). Egalitarian relationship between spouses was also low among the slum dwellers as interspouse communication regarding planning of family size was reported by only 40 per cent of them. Even the aspirations of the slum dwellers for the education of their children were not only low but also expected less education as compared to the non-slum dwellers. The observed low planning, interspouse communication and aspirations among the slum dwellers may be due to their low educational and economic status. The fertility of the slum dwellers may not come down unless they think, feel and act in modern ways. Modern values are to be cultivated among them through opening the functional literacy centres, exposure to mass media and dissemination of population education.

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15. PANCHAYATI RAJ AND LOCAL LEADERSHIP IN ANDHRA PRADESH

K.Ranga Rao

In 1952, Community Development and Extension Service Projects were initiated in different parts of our country. For the first time a kind of integrated development of each geographical area or community was undertaken and a number of subject-specialists in public works, irrigation, animal husbandry, agriculture, education and health were brought together under one administrator. Emphasis was placed on realization of "felt needs" of the people and the development effort was conceived to be a co-operative effort between the government and the people. However, as stated by Berreman,

> Community development, as it has been defined in India, is fraught with potential difficulty. Briefly the problem is this: The Community Development Programme aims at economic development of rural villages, with emphasis on agriculture, and at the same time it aims at fundamental changes in the social life of villages, with emphasis on democratization. In practice, the programme has functioned primarily to improve agricultural productivity. As a result, its effect has been, over much of India, to benefit primarily the farmers--those who own land--and these tend to be high caste people who are already the most economically advantaged (Berreman, G.D., 1963: 91).

The Indian researchers such as Dube (see Desai, A.R., 1969: 622-626) and Desai (1969: 611-621) echoed the same feeling.

Panchayati Raj

The Government of India constituted a study team for examining the functioning of the Community Development

Projects and the National Extension Services. The team was headed by Balwantrai Mehta. The team recommended a three-tier system of democratic decent. zation by setting up organically linked elected bodies at the village, block and district levels. The Panchayati Raj, as the system is called, is more comprehensive in scope and objectives than the Community Development Programme. It is said that the triple objectives of Panchayati Raj are,

> . . . . modernization, politicization and democratization, while Community Development Programme embodied in itself, at best, a preparatory stage for modernization. If one were to relate the two concepts to the ideal of democratic planning, the concept of Panchayati Raj would appear to have been built around a total view of the ideal, and the community development programme only to embody a fragmented vision (Iqbal Narain, 1969: XVIII).

As Tinker pointed out,

> This revolutionary proposal aimed at liquidating the autocratic district system--which had served Mughals and British alike--was accepted by most of the States. The new order was called Panchayati Raj, no longer Panchayat Raj; instead of village government, government of the villages. The distinction cannot be relegated to the realm of semantics--there is a genuine difference; the 'self-sufficient village' concept was finally relinquished. Henceforth, the village merged into the neighbourhood, and the neighbourhood into the district . . . . The attempt to lower the level of decision making from the district to block, was reversal of the centralizing pressures of the first years of independence (Tinker, 1967: 193-194).

Taking part in the deliberations of a seminar on "Panchayati Raj, Planning and Democracy" Balwantrai Mehta said that

> The bureaucracy was running the Community Development. We had, of course, development councils and so on more or less of a nominated character but it had nothing to do with the people as such. So the character of the Community Development as a popular movement was more nominal than real (Iqbal Narain, 1969:81).

Gandhiji was in favour of village panchayats. Article 40 of the Indian Constitution reads that, "The State shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government". Thus introduction of Panchayati Raj satisfied one of the Directive Principles.

In Andhra Pradesh, Panchayati Raj was introduced in November, 1959. The Act was entitled Andhra Pradesh Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads Act, No.XXXV of 1959. In line with the recommendations of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee, Panchayat Samitis were made the real bodies responsible for development. They were vested with executive responsibilities in primary education, health, sanitation and communication, in addition to exercising supervision over the gram panchayats. The elected Sarpanches (Presidents of the village panchayats), members of the Union and State Legislatures falling within the Samiti, one woman member, one or two scheduled caste members, two social workers and one member of the co-operative society, constituted the Panchayat Samiti headed by an elected president. The Zilla Parishad at the district level consisted of presidents of the Panchayat Samities, members of the Union and State Legislatures of the district, and the co-opted members in different fields. The Zilla Parishad was headed by an elected Chairman. The Zilla Parishad replaced the old District Board. Contrary to the recommendations of the Mehta Committee, the District Collector was not only made a member of the Zilla Parishad, but was also made Chairman of all the Standing Committees. Thus, at the district level the Collector was made a Co-ordinate to the Parishad (Chandrasekhara Rao, R.V.R., 1977:163).

At the village level the gram panchayats continued to be governed by the old Acts, though under the new scheme they were closely linked up with the Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad. In the Telangana region, the Hyderabad Gram Panchayat Act, 1956, continued to be applicable to the village panchayats and in the Andhra area the village panchayats were governed by The Madras Village Panchayats Act, 1950. Soon after the three-tier system of the Panchayati Raj was introduced in 1959, Panchayats were established in all the villages.

In 1964, the Act of Gram Panchayats in Andhra Pradesh was passed and it was made applicable to both Telangana and Andhra regions. According to this Act, each village panchayat was to consist of 5 to 17 members depending upon the size of the population of the "panchayati village" so constituted. A panchayati village could consist of more than one revenue village. The panches were to elect a Sarpanch and Upa-Sarpanch. Seats were reserved for women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For ladies, it was one seat if the total strength of the panchayat was seven or less, and two seats if the total strength of the panchayat

was more than seven. In the case of scheduled castes and tribes, one seat each was reserved if their population was fifty or less. If the population was more than fifty, the number of seats was to be notified by the government. But usually the number was limited to two. The term of office of each panchayati was five years.

The duties of the panchayatis under the 1964 Act were as follows:

A.Obligatory, but not enforceable in the court of Law:

1. Construction and maintenance of public buildings and roads.
2. Lighting of public roads.
3. Construction and maintenance of drains.
4. Clearing of streets.
5. Provision of public latrines and cleaning of the same.
6. Maintenance of crematia and burial grounds.
7. Finding out and providing means of preventing and eradicating epidemic disease.
8. Sinking and repairing of wells for protected water supply.
9. Conservation of manurial resources.
10. Registration of births and deaths.
11. Establishment and maintenance of cattle pounds, etc.

B.Optional

1. Construction and maintenance of dharmasalas and choultries.
2. Promotion of pre-primary education.
3. Provision of playgrounds and parks.
4. Clearing of streets
5. Encouraging improved methods of cultivation.
6. Encouragement of co-operatives and warehouses.
7. Control of fairs.
8. Implementation of land reforms.
9. Development of Community harmony.

Each village was to have a Gram Sabha in addition to the Gram Panchayat. The gram sabha consisted of all the adults included in the electoral roll and it was expected to meet twice a year in order to suggest improvements necessary in the village. But meetings of the Sabha were hardly held in any village. The sources of income of each panchayat were house tax, vehicle tax, professional tax and a share of the land revenue and the duty levied on transfers of property. For fear of loss of popularity the Sarpanches hesitated to collect taxes by force and hence many panchayats remained without sufficient funds.

During the period of 18 years between 1959 and 1977 a number of problems cropped up in the administration of the Panchayati Raj. These problems related to the relative roles ofbureaucracy and the elected leaders in general, and the place of the District Collector *vis-a-vis* the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad and the Chairman of the Standing Committees in particular. There was also the problems of the relative roles and importance of the members of legislative assemblies (M.L.As.) and members of the parliament (M.Ps.) and the political elite directly elected to the Panchayati Raj bodies. Ram Reddy and Chandrasekhar Rao gave a vivid description of the controversies which arose from time to time and the contradictory recommendations made by the review committees headed by bureaucrats and political leaders (Ram Reddy, G., 1977 and Chandrasekhar Rao, R.V.R., 1977). After considerable discussions, in 1976 the Andhra Pradesh government introduced some amendments.

The amendment to the Andhra Pradesh Gram Panchayat Act of 1964 referred mainly to the size of the Panchayats, reservation of seats, and election and position of the Sarpanch. According to the amendment, the minimum strength of the panchayat has been increased from five to seven and the maximum has been raised from seventeen to nineteen members. There was a change in the number and manner of reservation of seats to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and women. If the total strength of the panchayat was nine or less, two seats were reserved for women. If the strength of the panchayat was between nine and fifteen there would be three seats, and if the strength was above fifteen, four seats were reserved for them. One seat was reserved for scheduled castes or scheduled tribes, if their population in the panchayat was 25 per cent, or less. On the other hand, if their population was more than 25 per cent but did not exceed 50 per cent of the total population of the panchayat, the seats were to be reserved for them in proportion of their population. According to the amendment, the Sarpanch was to be elected by all the persons whose names appeared in the electoral roll of the gram panchayat. However, if the Sarpanch failed to perform his duties properly, government could remove him. There was also a provision for suspending the Sarpanch and Upa-sarpanch for a period not exceeding three months, if they failed to discharge their duties properly. The changes mainly strengthened the position of the Sarpanch and the government. Further, more powers were given to the government and its officials *vis-a-vis* the gram panchayat.

Similar changes were introduced in the mode of election

of the President of the Panchayat Samiti. Now the President was to be directly elected by all the voters in the Samiti area. The President could not be removed by the Samiti members. However, as in the case of the Sarpanch, there was a provision for his removal by government. Members of the Legislature were not eligible to hold the office of the President. There was a change in the composition of the Panchayat Samiti also. The Samiti would consist of (a) the President of the Panchayat Samiti; (b) Sarpanches of all the gram panchayats of that Samiti; (c) members of the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council in the area; (d) six members elected out of whom two have to be women, one representative of the Scheduled Castes and one representative of the Scheduled Tribes, and two persons belonging to the backward classes, and (e) one member each from the backward classes, minorities, those interested in co-operatives and social work, all put together not exceeding four in number.

An important change was brought about with regard to the standing committees. Their number has been reduced from the then existing seven to five. There was to be one committee each for development, education, social welfare, works and finances. The Samiti President and Vice-President respectively became the ex-officio Chairmen of the Standing Committee for finances and the Standing Committee for development. The Chairmen of the other committees were elected by members of the respective committees., the changes in the set-up of the Panchayat Samities, particularly the changes relating to the election of the President, were the result of a long-standing demand to broaden the electoral base of the President. The change relating to the standing committees was a welcome one, "because in the earlier system there were far too many committees and they were all presided over by the President. Under the new system, there is a scope for involving more persons in the leadership of the committees" (Ram Reddy, G., 1977:307).

The composition of the Zilla Parishad also underwent a change. Now it was to be almost similar to that of the Panchayati Samiti. In this case also the number of committees was reduced to five and the positions of the Chairman and Vice-chairman of the Zilla Parishad were made similar to that of the President and Vice-President of the Panchayat Samiti in relation to the Chairmanship of the Committees. The important change in the set-up of the Zilla Parishad was the appointment of a Chief Executive Officer who was generally taken from the I.A.S. cadre. Another important change related to the position of the Collector in the Zilla

Parishad. The Collector was no more a member of the Zilla Parishad, nor a Chairman of the Standing Committees, but he had supervisory powers over the Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samities. As Ram Reddy says, these changes were meant to strengthen the hold of the government over the Panchayats even though the Collector lost some power at the District level (Ram Reddy, G., 1977: 305-308).

Impact on the Village Structure

The traditional village socio-economic structure presents wide differences in the power positions of different castes and classes. Generally, upper castes had also been upper classes. M.N. Srinivas explained how a caste which happens to be numerically preponderant, relatively high in the caste hierarchy, and possesses considerable land or wealth, is in a position to become dominant in the village and in its power structure. Many studies show that caste and family status, money or wealth continue to be important bases of political power (Iqbal Narain, 1964:1017). Of course, for a caste to be dominant it need not be necessarily numerically preponderant (Ranga Rao, K. and Murty, R.K., 1975:205). Age, education and occupation have only secondary importance. Higher ritual status is also losing ground as a basis of dominance (Beteille, A., 1966; and Ranga Rao, K. and Murty, R.K.,1975). As put by Iqbal Narain, "the lever of the new technique is power, rather than altruistic considerations such as service to or the development of the community. It may well serve as a spring board for the rise of a new leadership" (Iqbal Narain, 1964: 1014). In many villages lower castes continue to depend upon upper castes and because of economic dependency, they are not in a position to assert their rights though some amount of resistance is clearly visible. One study showed that patronclient (jajmani) relations today do not force the service castes and labourers to vote for the rich farmers (Ranga Rao, K., 1969). Wherever they are economically and or numerically powerful, the lower castes also seem to be gaining confidence to compete for positions of power. This is a welcome sign. It does not, however, mean that the lower castes are accepted without any reservations as legitimate claimants to the positions of power in the village panchayats. Factional affiliations and external linkages have their own impact (Ranga Rao, K., 1976: 285-296) and the latter are becoming more and more important.

In Andhra Pradesh there are some studies which indicate the trends of change in leadership pattern and the rural power structure. Let us first take the macro level political scene into consideration. Tinker made the following statement

regarding the situation in the Andhra region around 1952 (before it became a part of the present state of Andhra Pradesh). He said that,

> one state where politics can be nearly equated with the rivalry of two great castes is Andhra. Before the days of universal suffrage, the Congress Party in Andhra was Brahmin dominated. A caste of wealthy land owners, the Kammas, began to produce Western-educated leaders in the 1930's who, in the face of the Brahmin control of the Congress, joined anti-Brahmin parties, like the Justice Party, and in due course turned to Communism . . . . , in its militant phase, the CPI* was compelled to issue special directives to take care of its Kamma landlord supporters. The other great landowning 'middle' caste was that of the Reddis, whose emergence into political literacy came later. Their main political objective was to get even with the Kammas, and so they joined the Congress: first as junior partners with the Brahmins, and then as their supplanters. However, in the 1955 election, when the Congress was fighting back, after the Communists has scored on the language issue, it was decided that the caste game must be played with even greater finesse. The coastal delta region was Kamma territory; the uplands were held largely by Reddis. The Congress held off untill the CPI had filled its list, and then, candidate for candidate, it matched the CPI slate with a slate of Congress supporters belonging to identical castes. That way, with superior organization and funds, the Congress could successfully trade upon caste loyalties everywhere (Tinker, 1967: 149).

In Telangana, Brahmins were the intellectual leaders and they shared power with the Reddis. Velamis and Kammas were powerful in some pockets. It is of interest to note what the Ex-Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, P.V. Narasimha Rao, has to say on the changing role of caste and class factors in the political arena. He says,

> Most often economic dominance, caste superiority and political ascendance coincided, reinforcing the stratificatory pattern the traditional society. However, as the circle of political competition enlarged with the adoption of adult franchise and reservation of seats for weaker sections like the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the hitherto politically immobile groups began to be inducted into politics and the near monopoly of the higher castes and

* Communist Party of India.

classes began to break. In order to build a stable and winning coalition to capture state offices at different levels, the dominant leadership had to co-opt, into leadership positions, aspirants from the lower strata of the society. The cumulative impact of these processes was to bring into operation the tendency towards dispersal of inequality. Economic dominance or social superiority no more remained an indispensable condition for recruitment to positions of leadership and a structural shift in the distribution of power decidedly took place. The new leadership had a large proportion of persons from rural areas with agricultural occupation, an increasing proportion of the less dominating castes, and a growing and increasingly vocal membership representative of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes . . . . All the same, the leadership always reflected pre-eminence of the economically and socially dominant segments of the society--a combination of rich peasantry with the urban middle and upper classes--and the predominance of the older age groups continued unbroken (Narasimha Rao, P.V., 1977:266).

Ram Reddy made an analysis of leadership pattern in 380 villages covering the Andhra and Telangana regions (Ram Reddy, G., 1967). His study revealed that Reddis and Kammas have been the most dominant castes. About 64 per cent of the Sarpanches, 61 per cent of the Presidents of Samitis, and 100 per cent of Chairmen were from these two castes. Besides, all the forward classes combined were better placed than others. About 81 per cent of the Sarpanches, 83 per cent of the Samiti Presidents and all the Zilla Parishad Chairmen belonged to forward classes. Most of the political executives in Panchayati Raj were drawn from the agricultural classes. As Ram Reddy says,

"This is in tune with the rural scene where the vast majority of the people are dependent on agriculture" (Ram Reddy, G., 1967: 2213).

A study of two Panchayati Samitis conducted in 1960-62 concluded as follows:

The present study is designed to examine in detail the structure and working of two Panchayat Samitis, one situated in the delta area of the East Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh, an economically and socially advanced region; and the other situated in the Visakhapatnam District of the State, which is comparatively a backward region. A study of the structure of Pendurthi Panchayat Samiti has shown that two local factions based on caste and

firka (subregion) leadership played an important part in the election of the president and vice-president and also in determining the composition of the Samiti and its standing committees. Political parties and feudal elements played a negligible role. The working of the samiti was undoubtedly a success and a great improvement over the block advisory committees. The official and non-official relations in the Samiti were also found to be extremely cordial and happy. A study of the structure of Kapileswarapuram Panchayat Samiti has shows that caste, feudal elements and political party connections all played a dominant role in determining the elections of the president and vice-president, and the composition of the Samiti and its standing committees. The working of the Samiti was as successful as that of Pendurthi Samiti, but the Samiti discussions of programmes, programme implementation and the role of officials showed undoubtedly the influence of the dominant caste in the area and of the local zamindar family belonging to the dominant caste. A review of selected community works in the two Panchayat Samitis has revealed that there are more cases of success than of failure. Success of programmes and works was more often achieved due to right kind of leadership in the villages and the devotion and enthusiasm of the concerned officials. Failure of schemes was more often due to lack of proper technical and general advice given to the villages by the officials (Sarveswara Rao, B. and Ramana, K.V., 1967: 80-81).

On the basis of a study of a Panchayat Samiti in Telangana, 130 miles north of Hyderabad, Ram Reddy comes to the conclusion that the dominant castes in the villages had great opportunities of getting elected to the position of Sarpanches. Caste and kinship, though play important roles, were not always decisive. When members of the same caste contested each other, the caste element becomes neutralized. However, "caste played a role in the selection of the candidates for the different wards in the village" (Ram Reddy, G., 1966: 72).

Sivalinga Prasad made a comparison of the socio-economic background of the Sarpanches elected in 1964 and 1970 in Madhira taluk of Telangana. From his data it is clear that most of the Sarpanches were engaged in agriculture. Almost all the Sarpanches elected in 1970 were agriculturists. In 1964, the percentage of Sarpanches without land was very negligible. This study also confirmed that only the upper castes were able to occupy positions of leadership in the village panchayats. In spite of a number of steps taken to

uplift the scheduled castes and other backward communities, they were not able to climb the ladder of leadership as the upper castes did. The scheduled castes got in because of the statutory requirement. The study revealed that the panchayat leadership was not uneducated, but at the same time it was not well-educated also. Education helped one to become a Sarpanch. The rich and middle income group dominated the village leadership in 1964. But in the 1970 elections, there was an increase in the representation of the lower income group, and decrease in the representation of the higher income group (Sivalinga Prasad, V., 1972: 222).

There are some micro-level village studies also. The study of an Andhra Village made in 1965 concluded that

> While the old authoritative leadership is giving way to some new leadership, the former is still strongly working against the growth of democratic leadership . . . . Quite naturally the present day leadership is concentrated in the numerically and also economically important caste group . . . . The upper but minority castes do not have any hold over the village (Ranga Rao, K., 1966: 58-59).

Factionalism is rampant in many villages in India and the Andhra villages are no exception. Two Andhra villages in Visakhapatnam district exhibited factionalism. In one village, the youth organization and its leaders have become strong enough to challenge the traditional leaders who belonged to the upper but minority castes. But the youth leader himself belonged to the dominant caste. The village Munsiff (Police-cum-Mali Patel) and the contractor, both of whom belonged to a dominant peasant caste, wielded influence over those who were economically weak. In another village, co-operative societies became stepping stones for securing positions in the Panchayat. But it was a desirable trend in that aspirants for panchayat positions acquired some training in public institutions and their management (Ranga Rao, K : 1966 and 1968). In 1964, the government wanted to avoid factionalism by encourging unanimous elections. Towards this end, the State Government announced Rs.5,000/- for each Panchayat which elected its members unanimously. About 47 per cent of the Panchayats were thus elected unanimously (Ram Reddy, G., 1977: 35). However, unanimity did not always mean smooth or effective functioning or absence of factions in the Panchayat (Ranga Rao, K : 1966). Hence this policy of granting cash prizes to the unanimously elected panchayats was withdrawn in 1970.

It may also be mentioned that while elections in many

villages went on peacefully, there were minor incidents of violence here and there. In some places the contestants were kidnapped (Ram Reddy, G., 1977 and Ranga Rao, K., 1980). A study of a village in East Godavari district also reported factionalism. The study revealed a strong influence of caste in the selection of candidates in each ward, and also of the economic status, kinship and family units in voting behaviour. It said "Dominant caste alone had accessibility to political power and the emergence of 'neo-traditional' leadership was noticeable" (Raghavulu, C.V., 1966:99). However, in a village in Nalgonda district, a Harijan became Vice-President and subsequently President as well (Ranga Rao, K., 1980). But it was a rare phenomenon and the village factions were responsible for this. The fact that in some villages the Presidentship was reserved to Harijans and accordingly persons belonging to these categories became Presidents is a different kind of phenomenon altogether. A recent study on the nature of the changing distribution of political power in a village comes out with the following conclusions:

1. The numerically largest, economically powerful, ritually upper, and educationally forward caste (such as the Kamma caste under study) is no more a "dominant caste". Gaining control of the village presidentship and/or a share in the community power more than it is proportionally eligible to, is not the same thing as being dominant. Over a period of time, the resource distribution in the village has definitely shifted from a pattern of cumulative inequalities to non-cumulative and dispersed inequalities. Caste, class and power are certainly getting increasingly disassociated and the elite are getting broad based, though distribution of political power is still not quite even.

2. In the beginning of panchayati elections, the traditional sources of power, including the legitimacy attached to certain families, were important; but this has gradually eroded and new factors of influence have been gaining the upper hand in the field of local socio-political behaviour. Accordingly, the dominant caste got split and persons with different resource base came to wield political power in the village.

3. Once the economically powerful and the populous caste gets split, its leaders seek all possible local and extra-local alliances and, in this process, they make use of resources such as kinship, patronclient, caste, class and political affiliations, with the result the village experiences vertical divisions extending their affiliations beyond the locality and reaching regional levels. Primordial relations, being

as they are, come into play at every point which have been responsible for the shifting loyalties and though they may look unprinciples on the surface have served a very important function of avoiding direct and permanent conflict within the community. Personal animosities combined with primordial loyalties, of course, are bound to weaken any concerted action beneficial to the community as a whole. Hence, the low level of community action and community development under Panchayati Raj.

4. The split in the so-called dominant caste and the general political atmosphere in the country definitely instilled and encouraged self-confidence among the lower castes in general, and scheduled castes in particular. Such of those castes which are socially low but are economically enterprising (the Gaondlas and Malas in our case) have come to adapt themselves to the changing political atmosphere and gain the advantages of panchayati raj in terms of sharing community power. But what is still important to note is the fact that such of those service castes (Chakali, Mangali and Madiga, etc.) which are a part of the Jajmani system continue to be politically not very alert and, hence, are not beneficiaries of the Panchayati Raj.

5. Our data suggest that in the power game, personal characteristics such as age, education and occupation or even landed property are becoming relatively less important and instead liquid wealth, organizational involvement and establishment of networks within and outside the village are gaining the upper hand. For the same reason, the traditional leaders as well as the landed rich did not emerge as the important leaders of the village and instead the political activists with capacities for establishing local and extra local vertical linkages of various kinds and forming factions and alliances have become politically powerful.

6. The data also suggest that the nature of group alliances and factional formation in villages is such that it has made lower castes not to look at themselves as one class and, consequently, today there is no leadership in the village which really encourages 'class' feeling. It is as though the primordial relations (kinship and caste) and the "system of spoils" are responsible for the non-emergence of, or decrease in, class-consciousness (Ranga Rao, K. and Murty, K.R., 1983: 194-195).

Political Parties and Panchayati Raj

Unlike the elections to the Parliament and State Legislatures, Panchayat elections became important and attracted

the attention of villagers of all castes. Theoretically, individuals were not supposed to contest the elections under any party banner, but in practice political affiliations play an important role. Leaders and political parties evince keen interest because success in a village would mean political influence at the Samiti and Zilla levels and these external linkages in turn would ensure continuation of their political power in the rural area. Almost all these studies, mentioned so far, reported the influence and involvement of political parties in the Panchayat elections. Each political party in fact selects the local candidates or gives advice to its members in the villages. It looks as though partyless village democracy is an impossibility. A study of Panchayati Raj elections of 1970 reports that "majority of the leaders had affiliation with one or the other political party. Only a few leaders seemed to be independents. Both the leaders and the voters knew the political affiliation of the leaders. Political parties appeared to be active in village politics" (Ram Reddy, G. and Seshadri, K., 1972: 57-58). Studies made by Ranga Rao also brought out this fact (Ranga Rao, K., 1966, 1976).

It is true that upper castes and upper classes continue to have a hold on village politics. But many studies also show how factions many a time cut across caste and class loyalties and how sometimes the use of wealth and primordial loyalties work against leftist parties. There is a feeling that Panchayati Raj had proved useful to the Congress or rightist groups. Bhalerao remarked that "The major consequence of Panchayati Raj will be the strengthening of the Congress Party in rural areas" (Bhalerao, C.N., 1964: 808). An analysis of the Telangana peasant movement clearly showed the ascendance and then descendance of Communist power in villages. As put by G.Ram Reddy "The strength of the Communist party seems to have been reduced considerably in recent years . . . . The Congress party has attracted the rich and the middle classes in the area. Some of the enthusiastic workers of the party are former Communists" (Ram Reddy, G., 1966:68). Many village panchayats and a majority of the Samitis have come under the control of Congress. As stated by Ranga Rao,

> The impact of Panchayati Raj, however, was that it had localised the issue of class conflict and contained the process of polarization of political forces by making village leaders, including the left ones, dissipate their energies in trivial matters seeking means and opportunities for promoting personal ends rather than for achieving collective goals. This is an entirely different situation and differs greatly from the one that obtained during the period of

the peasant upsurge in Telangana (Ranga Rao, K., 1976: 296).

G.Ram Reddy and Seshadri also noted that,

> The interesting phenomenon of rural politics which deserves to be noted by political scientists is that there is not much rigidity in the political affiliations of the contestants. In a few villages the persons who called themselves as Congressmen at the local level were supported by a Swatantra Party M.L.A., who was an important TPS* leader at the district level. Similarly several people who took active part in the Telangana agitation were seeking the support of the integrationist leaders and *Vice-versa* at the district and block levels. Local issues and problems seem to cut across party boundaries and party affiliations, the main concern being winning the election (Ram Reddy, G. and Seshadri, K., 1972:111).

The remarks of Sundarayya, a Communist leader, also lend evidence to this fact. He feels that the strength of the Communist Party in Telangana and other areas in the country was good for a long time, but the situation has now changed. He says that,

> Now that the old generation (18 to 35 years old) in 1942 that participated in the Telangana struggle has become old or is passing away, two generations of new cadre should have developed to replace them. We find even at lower levels that this is not sufficiently happening. Unless we draw them into one party and develop them, and promote them to higher leadership quickly, the movement cannot develop much (Sundarayya, P., 1972: 444).

Panchayati Raj and Village Officers

With the introduction of Panchayati Raj the village officials lost some of their powers. Certain of the functions which were being performed by the Police Patel (Munsiff) and Patwari (Accountant) were transferred to the Village Panchayat. The Sarpanch and Upa-sarpanch and other members of the Panchayat count in village politics more than the Patwari and Police Patel, though in matters relating to land records, collection of land revenue and maintenance of law and order the village officials still continue to wield power officially. These "public office" holders still enjoy some traditional power and legitimacy and take active part in village politics directly or indirectly.

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16. GERONTOCRACY AND ITS TRANSITION IN INDIAN RURAL COMMUNITIES

T.Chandramohan Reddy

Introduction

In the Indian tradition of leadership, seniority in age has been an important factor. It symbolizes experience, maturity and equanimity of mind, and hence aged persons are trusted and respected more than younger members. Hence gerontocratic leadership has been an accepted mode of Indian social life. This type of leadership could be more effective in former static societies.

After India's independence the functions of leadership have undergone a change with the introduction of local self-government institutions at the village level and multifarious new developmental programmes for rural reconstruction. The leader today should be popular and receptive to new ideas. He should be able to initiate and undertake new activities under the new schemes and enthuse the villagers. Under these circumstances, the aged and oldguard leadership may not be able to cope with new demands and hence may have to pave the way for relatively young and active leadership.

Moreover, in traditional societies where the leadership is mostly ascribed, once a person is recognised as a leader he continues to control the community till his demise. After the introduction of adult franchise, the popular leadership started emerging for specified periods, which facilitated the emergence of new leadership based on achieved status in the rural community. In the light of this, age is expected to lose its control over leadership.

Review of Studies

A number of studies on rural leadership demonstrated

the importance of age, while others its dwindling influence. "While people in their twenties and thirties do most of the heavy labour, prestige and authority still lie, for the most part, with their elders" (Halpern, 1956:203). Older people are more likely to be nominated as leaders than younger people (Abraham, 1974:46). Old age is one of the requisite factors for the rural leadership (Dhillon 1955; Srivastava 1965; Dube 1967; and Sen 1969). Leaders are older than followers in more traditional villages, whereas they are younger than their followers in more modern communities (Lerner, 1958). In the traditional pattern of leadership, the older men were both the ceremonial and panchayat leaders. With educational advancement and outside employment, however, middle-aged, educated people are being given opportunities by the older people to represent them in statutory panchayats, school committees and in deputations outside the village. Moreover, youth leadership, particularly of the educated unemployed, is developing and represents a threat to the traditional values of the village (Lewis 1958:130). Age is losing its importance and middle-aged persons and newly elected young men become more effective and hence are getting increasing prominence in rural leadership (Rangnath 1974:71). The village leaders may be found coming from young age categories rather than advanced age categories (Singh, 1968); the educated and the young in age have become the increasingly important component of leadership (Singh, 1970); the elected village leaders to a greater extent were relatively younger in age (Muthayya and Raju, 1973); younger leaders seemed to be taking an active part and coming to the forefront (Jadeja, 1964).

The foregoing observations give an impression that though age and experience are considered to be important factors for the emergence of leaders in traditional rural communities, their role is gradually declining due to the impact of changes taking place in different spheres of rural life in the recent past. In the light of this, an effort is made in the present paper to analyse the role of age and experience in the contemporary rural power structure.

Ten village panchayats from Chittoor district were selected and 282 leaders from these panchayats were identified by employing the positional, reputational and event analysis methods.

The identified leaders were classified into formal leaders (elected representatives of the formal organizations like village panchayat, village co-operative society; village youth

organization, village labour co-operative soceity; Harijan co-operative collective farming society, and Harijan co-operative welfare society); and informal leaders (village headmen, members of the traditional village council, religious leaders, caste leaders, and other influentials who are not elected representatives of the rural community). The formal leadership emerging in response to the new demands has to facilitate the process of socio-economic development. These leaders are elected for specified periods depending upon their capacity and capabilities, whereas the informal leadership being traditional is generally recruited from certain privileged sections of the community based on personal resources that remained concentrated in those belonging to higher echelons; of the rural community. Hence, it is expected that there will be a significant difference between formal and informal leaders in terms of their age and duration of service as leaders.

Analysis

The Chi square value for table 1 indicates that there is a significant difference between formal and informal leaders in terms of their age. The proportion of formal leaders who are young is more than double (26.5 per cent) compared to corresponding proportion of informal leaders. Contrastingly, a greater proportion of informal leaders are of middle and old age groups than of formal leaders.

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL LEADERS ACCORDING TO THEIR AGE

Age group	Formal Leaders	Informal Leaders	Total
Young (Upto 34 years)	35 (26.5)	16 (10.7)	51 (18.1)
Middle (35 to 54 years)	63 (47.7)	88 (58.7)	151 (53.5)
Old (55 Years and above)	34 (25.8)	46 (30.6)	80 (28.4)
Total	132 (100.0)	150 (100.0)	282 (100.0)

X^2 = 11.87, d.f=2, Significant at .001 level.

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL LEADERS ACCORDING TO THEIR DURATION OF SERVICE AS LEADERS

No.of Years of service as Leaders	Formal Leaders	Informal Leaders	Total
Upto 5 years	23 (17.4)	22 (14.7)	45 (16.0)
6 to 10 years	72 (54.6)	68 (45.3)	140 (49.6)
11 years and above	37 (28.0)	60 (40.0)	97 (34.4)
Total	132 (100.0)	150 (100.0)	282 (100.0)

X^2=4.6, d.f=2, Not significant at .05 level.

The Chi square value for table 2 is lower than the table value, which reveals that there is no significant difference between formal and informal leaders in terms of their duration of service as leaders.

Decision and Non-decision Making Leaders

It is generally presumed that one of the important functions of a leader is making decisions for various activities of the community. On the other hand, it has also been argued that it does not mean that every leader would necessarily be making decisions on some activity or other of the community. There could also be passive acceptors among the leaders. Thus, on the basis of decision-making, leaders can be classified into decision and non-decision making leaders. The decision-making capacity of a leader can be considered as an index of his influence in the community.

The best way of studying the decision-making process and locating the decision-makers is by observing it when it is being made. But it is difficult for the researcher to be physically present when the decision-making process is taking place. Hence, in the present investigation the information on decision-making process and the persons associated with it were collected by tracing the decision-

making process and the outcome by indirect methods (from the respondents through an interview schedule).

The measure overt decision-makers, four representative issues have been selected. Making decisions in one or more of these is treated as basic criterion for an individual's power and influence in the community. After initial interviews with a cross-section of villagers and the knowledgeables who identified a number of community issues, the researcher selected a panel of four issues--fairs and festivals, elections, disputes and developmental activities -- that best met the criterion of representativeness.

To ensure a better measure of recognition, the respondents were selected from knowledgeable persons in the community, the leaders and a cross-section of population in equal proportions. Each respondent was asked to narrate the case events where the leaders emerged as the decision-makers for the specified issues during the last ten years by administering in interview schedule. For the sake of clarity, feasibility and to identify accurately all the leadersactually involved in decision-making, a number of questions were formulated dividing each issue into specific items.

The panel mentioned by the respondents was ranked by taking the number of mentions each person received against each issue. The persons whose names appeared against each issue in the process were considered decision-makers for the issue, and all the leaders whose names appeared were recognised as "Decision-making leaders" of the community, irrespective of the issue and score they received. The leaders identified in the community, but whose names did not appear in the list of decision-makers, were regarded as "Non-decision making leaders".

It is observed from table-3 that the Chi square value is greater than the table value and hence there is a significant difference between decision and non-decision making leaders in terms of their age. The proportions of non-decision making leaders from young and middle age groups are greater compared to the corresponding proportions of decision-making leaders, whereas the proportion of decision-making leaders emerging from old age group is larger than the corresponding proportion of non-decision making leaders. (For Table 3 see next page).

It is clear from table-4 that the Chi square value is greater than the table value; hence there is a significant difference between decision and non-decision making leaders

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF DECISION AND NON-DECISION MAKING LEADERS: AGE-WISE

Age group	Decision-making leaders	Non-decision making leaders	Total
Young	21 (13.2)	30 (24.4)	51 (18.1)
Middle	83 (52.2)	68 (55.3)	151 (53.5)
Old	55 (34.6)	25 (20.3)	80 (28.4)
Total	159 (100.0)	123 (100.0)	282 (100.0)

X^2 = 9.95, d.f=2, Significant at .01 level.

TABLE 4: DISTRIBUTION OF DECISION AND NON-DECISION MAKING LEADERS ACCORDING TO THEIR DURATION OF SERVICE AS LEADERS

No.of years of service as leaders	Decision-making leaders	Non-decision making leaders	Total
Upto 5 years	19 (11.9)	26 (21.1)	45 (16.0)
6 to 10 years	62 (39.0)	78 (63.4)	140 (49.6)
11 years and above	78 (49.1)	19 (15.5)	97 (34.4)
Total	159 (100.0)	123 (100.0)	282 (100.0)

X^2 = 34, d.f=2, Significant at .001 level.

in terms of their experience as leaders. About half (49.1 per cent) of the decision-making leaders emerge from leaders with more than ten years service compared to only 15.5 per cent of non-decision making leaders. In contrast, the proportion of non-decision makers with 5 years and less and between 6 and 10 years is higher compared to the corresponding proportions of decision-making leaders.

TABLE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMAL DECISION AND NON-DECISION MAKING LEADERS: AGE GROUP-WISE

	Informal		
Age group	Decision-making leaders	Non-decision making leaders	Total
Young	11 (10.3)	5 (11.6)	16 (10.7)
Middle	63 (58.9)	25 (58.2)	88 (58.7)
Old	33 (30.8)	13 (30.2)	46 (30.6)
Total	107 (100.0)	43 (100.0)	150 (100.0)

X^2 = 0.06, d.f=2, Not significant at .05 level.

The Chi square value for table 5 indicates that there is no significant difference between informal, decision and non-decision making leaders in terms of their age.

The Chi square value for table 6 is smaller than the table value, and hence there is no significant difference between informal, decision and non-decision making leaders with respect to their service as leaders of the community. (For Table 6 see next page).

It is evident from table 7 that the calculated Chi square value is higher than the table value. This indicates that there is a significant difference between formal decision

TABLE 6: DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMAL DECISION AND NON-DECISION MAKING LEADERS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF YEARS OF SERVICE AS LEADERS

	Informal		
No.of years of service as leaders	Decision-making leaders	Non-decision making leaders	Total
Upto 5 years	15 (14.0)	7 (16.3)	22 (14.7)
6 to 10 years	45 (40.1)	23 (53.5)	68 (45.3)
11 years and above	47 (43.9)	13 (30.2)	60 (40.0)
Total	107 (100.0)	43 (100.0)	150 (100.0)

X^2 = 2.43, d.f=2, Not significant at .05 level.

TABLE 7: DISTRIBUTION OF FORMAL DECISION AND NON-DECISION MAKING LEADERS IN TERMS OF THEIR AGE

	Formal		
Age group	Decision-making leaders	Non-decision making leaders	Total
Young	10 (19.2)	25 (31.3)	35 (26.5)
Middle	20 (38.5)	43 (53.7)	63 (47.7)
Old	22 (42.3)	12 (15.0)	34 (25.8)
Total	52 (100.0)	80 (100.0)	132 (100.0)

X^2 = 12.37, d.f=2, Significant at .01 level.

and non-decision making leaders in terms of their age. The proportion of formal decision-making leaders emerging from young (19.2 per cent) and middle (38.5 per cent) age groups is smaller than the corresponding proportions (young 31.3 per cent and middle 53.7 per cent) of non-decision making leaders, whereas the proportion of formal decision-makers emerging from old age group (42.3 per cent) is nearly three times greater than non-decision making leaders of that age group.

TABLE 8: DISTRIBUTION OF FORMAL DECISION AND NON-DECISION MAKING LEADERS ACCORDING TO DURATION OF THEIR SERVICE

	Formal		
Duration of service as leaders	Decision-making leaders	Non-decision making leaders	Total
Upto 5 years	4 (7.7)	19 (23.8)	23 (17.4)
6 to 10 years	17 (32.7)	55 (68.8)	72 (54.6)
11 years and above	31 (59.6)	6 (7.4)	37 (28.0)
Total	52 (100.0)	80 (100.0)	132 (100.0)

X^2 = 42.71, d.f=2, Significant at .001 level.

It is clear from the Chi square value of table 8 that there is a significant difference between formal decision and non-decision making leaders with respect to their duration of service as leaders. The porportions of formal non-decision making leaders with 5 years' service (23.8 per cent) and with 6 to 10 years' service (68.8 per cent) are respectively three times more than and two-times more than the corresponding proportions of formal decision-making leaders. Contrastingly, the proportion of formal decision-makers with 11 and more years of service is eight times greater (59.6 per cent) than the formal non-decision makers (7.4 per cent) with same service.

The F calculated value between issues (16.19) is greater than the table value (5.14) for (2.6) d.f. at 5 per cent level

TABLE 9: DISTRIBUTION OF DECISION-MAKING LEADERS FOR FOUR ISSUES (FAIRS AND FESTIVALS, ELECTIONS, DISPUTES AND DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES) ACCORDING TO THEIR AGE GROUP

Age group	Fairs and festivals	Elections	Disputes	Developmental activities
Young	7 (10.0)	9 (13.6)	5 (4.7)	11 (17.2)
Middle	38 (54.3)	34 (51.5)	53 (50.0)	31 (48.4)
Old	25 (35.7)	23 (34.9)	48 (45.3)	22 (34.4)
Total	70 (100.0)	66 (100.0)	106 (100.0)	64 (100.0)

ANOVA TABLE - 1

Source of Variation	d.f.	Sum of squares	Mean sum of squares	F	F-Table Value
Between issues in terms of age groups	2	2018	1009	16.19	5.14
Between age groups with respect to issues	3	393	131	2.10	4.76
Error	6	374	62.33		
Total	11	2785			

of significance. Hence the null hypothesis is rejected which would mean that the leaders making decisions differ significantly with regard to all four issues. Larger proportions of leaders making decisions for four issues are either middle aged or old compared to the yound age group.

The F calculated value between age groups is 2.10 which is less than the table value 4.76 for (3,6) d.f. at 5 per cent

level of significance. Therefore the null hypothesis is accepted. It indicates that the proportions of leaders in different age groups are not significantly different regarding the four issues in which they are involved.

TABLE 10: DISTRIBUTION OF DECISION-MAKING LEADERS FOR FOUR ISSUES (FAIRS AND FESTIVALS, ELECTIONS, DISPUTES AND DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES) ACCORDING TO DURATION OF THEIR SERVICE

Duration of Service of Leaders	Fairs and festivals	Elections	Disputes	Developmental activities
Upto 5 years	5 (7.1)	10 (15.2)	15 (14.2)	11 (17.2)
6 to 10 years	28 (40.0)	21 (31.8)	40 (37.7)	21 (32.8)
11 Years and above	37 (52.9)	35 (53.0)	51 (48.1)	32 (50.0)
Total	70 (100.0)	66 (100.0)	106 (100.0)	64 (100.0)

ANOVA TABLE - 2

Source of Variation	d.f.	Sum of squares	Mean sum of squares	F	F-Table Value
Between issues in terms of duration of service	2	1648.5	824.25	44.35	5.14
Between duration of service with respect to issues	3	393	131.0	7.049	4.76
Error	6	111.5	18.58		
Total	11	2153			

The calculated F value between the issues (44.35) is higher than the table value (5.14) for (2,6) d.f. at 5 per cent level of significance and hence the null hypothesis is rejected which indicates that leaders making decisions differ significantly regarding the four issues with respect to their duration of service. Comparatively greater porportions of leaders making decisions on four issues have been serving for longer durations.

The calculated F value between the durations of service (7.049) is higher than the table value (4.76) for (3,6) d.f. at 5 per cent level of significance, and therefore the null hypothesis is rejected which shows that the proportion of leaders with different durations of service differ significantly with reference to the four issues.

Monomorphic and Polymorphic Leaders

Merton has given a conceptual scheme--monomorphic and polymorphic leadership (1957:413-415) to seek answers to the questions on the influence of leaders (Dube, 1965: 23-25). In the present investigation, Merton's typology of monomorphic and polymorphic leadership is adopted to measure their influence. The monomorphic leaders are those who make decisions on one issue of the community and polymorphic leaders are persons who make decisions on more than one issue of the community.

TABLE 11: AGE GROUP AND DISTRIBUTION OF MONOMORPHIC AND POLYMORPHIC LEADERS

Age Group	Monomorphic	Polymorphic	Total
Young	15 (17.3)	6 (8.3)	21 (13.2)
Middle	43 (49.4)	40 (55.6)	83 (52.2)
Old	29 (33.3)	26 (36.1)	55 (34.6)
Total	87 (100.0)	72 (100.0)	159 (100.0)

X^2 = 2.73, d.f=2, Not Significant at .05 level.

As seen from table 11 the calculated Chi square value is smaller than the table value and hence there is no significant difference between monomorphic and polymorphic leaders with respect to their age.

TABLE 12: DISTRIBUTION OF MONOMORPHIC AND POLYMORPHIC LEADERS ACCORDING TO DURATION OF THEIR SERVICE

No. of Years of service as leaders	Monomorphic	Polymorphic	Total
Upto 5 years	16 (18.4)	3 (4.2)	19 (11.9)
6 to 10 years	35 (40.2)	27 (37.5)	62 (39.0)
11 years and above	36 (41.4)	42 (58.3)	72 (49.1)
Total	87 (100.0)	72 (100.0)	159 (100.0)

X^2 = 9.07, d.f=2, Significant at .02 level.

From the table 12 it is evident that the Chi square value is higher than the table value and therefore there is a significant difference between monomorphic and polymorphic leaders with respect to duration of their service. Though larger proportions of monomorphic and polymorphic leaders have longer years of service, the proportion of the polymorphic leaders is greater (58.3 per cent) than monomorphic leaders (41.4 per cent). And the proportions of monomorphic leaders with 5 years and less, and 6 to 10 years service are higher than the corresponding proportions of polymorphic leaders.

Discussion

The pace of change in Indian rural society is comparatively rapid after independence. Under the forces of social change in general and the political change in particular, the rural leadership is expected to become increasingly functional. And hence the initiative and dominance in the rural power structure have been taken over by active and young section of the population replacing the old in this process.

From the foregoing analysis it is evident that a majority of the leaders identified are middle aged and a little more than one fourth of them are old. Altogether about 82 per cent of the leaders are 35 years and above in age. In terms of experience also a great majority of them have been leaders for over 5 years. When formal and informal leaders were compared, a higher proportion of the former were middle and young in age, whereas most of the latter were middle and old aged. With respect to their service they match each other.

The decision and non-decision making leaders significantly differ from each other in age. A considerably greater per cent of the former compared to the latter are old in age while about one fourth of the non-decision makers and about one eighth of the decision-makers are young. Further, a majority of the decision-making leaders also have considerably longer years of experience. The comparison of informal decision and non-decision making leaders reveals that both of them are similar in their age structure and service. A larger proportion of them belong to middle and old age groups and also have longer years of service. In contrast, formal decision and non-decision making leaders differ significantly in that higher proportions of the former compared to the latter are old in age and are also serving longer durations.

When the age and experience of leaders making decisions on each of the four issues were compared, it was found that they differ significantly in their age groups on all four domains as most of them are middle or old aged. But the proportions of leaders belonging to different age groups are more or less the same for four issues. On the other hand, they differ significantly with respect to their duration of service in relation to all the issues with greater proportion of them serving longer durations. And also significant variation in service among the four issues is revealed.

Even though polymorphic leaders exercise greater influence than monomorphic leaders, they agree with each other in their age structure, where most of them are middle or old aged, but differ significantly in their duration of service where greater proportion of polymorphic leaders serve longer durations than monomorphic leaders.

It can be synthesised from the above that in most of the instances (except in the case of formal decision-makers) middle aged persons assume greater importance. In terms of service, experienced persons still matter much in rural power structure.

In addition to this, discussion with the younger generation of the sample villages reveals that they are not inclined to take up leadership positions. With some level of education they want to go out of their villages seeking outside employment and settle in urban areas. Even though some want to take up leadership positions, the leadership in the villages being dominated by old members, the younger generation is not in a position to cope with traditional attitudes of the old-guards. In some villages where younger members have been active in village activities, the differences between young and old lead to tensions and factions. The older generation is preventing the young from active involvement in order to show their pride in village affairs, and as a result, younger members started showing indifference towards village activities.

The process of changing over is gradual. As it exists now in rural communities middle aged persons are already actively involved in village activities. Probably it may take some more time in the process for the younger persons to assume leadership positions. Relatively longer years of experience still matter much in contemporary rural power structure. Whether it would be relegated to the background with the induction of more youth into the power structure is a question yet to be answered.

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17. BEHAVIOURAL DIMENSIONS OF THE RURAL DISADVANTAGED

B.C.Muthayya

The concern for the rural disadvantaged in recent times has brought in a larger number of studies oriented to discover the economic, social, cultural and behavioural dimensions of poverty in order to understand the magnitude of the deprivation experienced by these groups of people, so that effective ameliorative measures can be planned and implemented. Various opinions have also been expressed about people who are disadvantaged in more ways than one. However, the fact remains that they are a group of people who either do not have the requisite means to lead a normal life or society has not been able to provide avenues for their betterment. Some are of the view that the poor people are ignorant, illiterate, lazy and even indifferent. However, some other people say that the poor people, though they are deprived economically and socially, are tough, hard working, ingenious and resilient (Chambers, Robert, 1983).

Studies of the disadvantaged groups (Muthayya, 1980 & 1982, and Muthayya, Aneesuddin and Naidu, 1984) have indicated a variety of socio-psychological factors which are prevalent to a lesser degree among the disadvantaged groups compared with the advantaged, either in their awareness, motivation, perception or attitudes. It was also found that those who are more disadvantaged occupying lesser positions in the economic and social structure (based on land holding and caste) were found to have more psychological and social disadvantages than those who are placed in a better position in these areas. Chambers (1983) identified the clusters of disadvantage, wherein he indicates the following five factors contributing to the cluster, each interacting

with the other namely poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness.

In the context of the varieties of opinions, an attempt has been made in this paper to identify some of the behavioural aspects among the disadvantaged groups selected, using both economic and social criteria.

Coverage and Sample

This study constituted a part of a large scale study (Muthayya, 1982) which was undertaken in Punjab and Madhya Pradesh. In Punjab, the districts of Amritsar and Hoshiarpur were covered and from each district, two blocks were selected and three villages from each block were covered. Thus, the study in Punjab covered two districts, four blocks and 12 villages. The sample consisted of 258 respondents, selected equally from the study districts, blocks and villages. These respondents were selected purposively with the main intention to include different categories of the disadvantaged groups. Thus, combining the criteria of land holding and occupation on the one side and caste on the other (small farmers, marginal farmers, landless labourers, large farmers and artisans and scheduled caste, backward class, high caste), the respondents for this study were selected. 45 respondents only were selected from the high caste large farmers group mainly to serve as the advantaged group for purposes of comparison. The details of the sample are given in Table 1.

TABLE 1: RESPONDENTS SELECTED FOR STUDY UNDER THE DIFFERENT ECONOMIC AND CASTE GROUPS.

Economic Group	Caste groups			
	Scheduled Caste	Backward Class	High Caste	Total
Large farmers	--	--	45	45
Small farmers	9	--	--	9
Marginal farmers	26	--	--	26
Landless labourers	80	25	--	105
Rural artisans	39	34	--	73
Total	154	59	45	258

In Madhya Pradesh, four districts were selected, one from each region of the State, and from each district one block was identified, and from each block three villages were covered and thus in Madhya Pradesh four districts, four blocks and 12 villages were covered following the same criteria as indicated for Punjab and 300 respondents constituted the sample. The details are given in Table 2.

TABLE 2: RESPONDENTS SELECTED FOR STUDY UNDER THE DIFFERENT ECONOMIC AND CASTE GROUPS

Economic Group	Scheduled Tribes	Scheduled Caste	Backward Class	High Caste	Total
Landless labourers	29	28	15	--	72
Marginal farmers	31	24	17	--	72
Small farmers	46	16	25	--	87
Large farmers	--	--	--	43	43
Rural artisans	3	8	15	--	26
Total	109	76	72	43	300

Method

Items to assess the behavioural aspects were part of a larger questionnaire of the study undertaken in these two States (Muthayya, 1982). The variables covered under the behavioural aspects were personal efficacy, dependence-proneness, fatalism and aspirations. The description of these variables, the number of items and the score range are as follows:

Personal Efficacy

The assumption regarding this scale is that people begin at an early age to develop a sense of their own capacity to manage the world around them. Some people develop self-confident, positive attitude with which they meet the problems of every day life while others give in to environmental pressure, unable to manage the conflicting forces which they encounter. The questions intended to measure personal efficacy covered information like perceived personal potential to take action for group effectiveness, to influence the local institution, approaching the officials etc. The aim was to find out the kind of self-image people maintain with regard to their role in any of the activities related to them or the village. It is likely that persons who feel

more effective in their tasks and in meeting challenges are more likely to participate in group activities. There were 9 items constituting the scale and the score range was 0-9, where higher the score, the higher the personal efficacy.

Dependence-proneness

Dependency defines a typical personality type which is motivated to seek others' approval and advice in decision situation, and to avoid the risk of failure by leaning on a superior. The dependence-proneness scale consisted of 12 items with a score range of 0-24 where each item was scored with a rating scale of 0-1-2, where higher the score, the higher the dependence-proneness.

Fatalism

It is defined as a philosophical and religious belief that an individual's act are predestined and/or, therefore, not subject to change by his own will, the act of another person or change in the environment. The fatalism was assessed in terms of one's beliefs, religious practices and attitudes. There were 5 items with a score range of 0-5, where the higher the score, the higher the fatalism.

Aspirations

It was of interest to find out how the advantaged and disadvantaged groups rated their personal status in three different time dimensions, namely, the past, present and future. This was assessed for a five-year period in a 10-point ladder scale in order to find out whether they maintained a progressive outlook for the future. The higher the rating, the greater was the experienced or aspired change for the betterment of their life situation either in the past, present or the future.

Results and discussion

The results obtained on these four behavioural aspects for the advantaged and disadvantaged groups in the two study States are presented in Table 3 in terms of mean scores and 't' values. Attempt has not been made to compare the mean scores among different groups across the States through significant statistics except comparing the magnitude of the mean variations.

In personal efficacy, it was found that the advantaged groups were more efficacious than the disadvantaged groups both in Punjab and Madhya Pradesh. The mean differences

TABLE 3: MEAN SCORES AND 't' VALUES FOR THE BEHAVIOURAL ASPECTS

Behavioural aspects	Score range	Punjab Mean scores A	Punjab Mean scores D	Punjab 't' values	Madhya Pradesh Mean Scores A	Madhya Pradesh Mean Scores D	Madhya Pradesh 't' values
	N	45	213		43	257	
Personal efficacy	0-9	3.60	3.17	3.62**	4.81	4.02	2.55**
Dependence-proneness	0-24	14.60	15.63	3.00**	19.60	17.80	1.86*
Fatalism	0-5	2.90	3.92	11.35**	2.34	3.65	5.95**
Aspiration	0-10						
Past	4.16	2.18	22.24**		4.12	1.32	25.45**
Present	4.33	2.49	17.90**		4.00	1.72	24.52**
Future	5.53	3.55	18.17**		5.19	2.91	17.14**

A: Advantaged; D: Disadvantaged.
* Significant at .05 level; ** Significant at .01 level.

are significant at .01 level. It was also found that personal efficacy was higher in Madhya Pradesh, both among the advantaged and disadvantaged groups as indicated by the magnitude of the mean scores. However, it is difficult to explain how, in the context of the given socio-political and economic situations, that the studied sample in Madhya Pradesh was more efficacious than those in Punjab. It can be perhaps hypothesised that the particular socio-cultural conditions obtaining in any situation may foster personal efficacy if the type of training given is achievement-oriented rather than based on ascribed factors. A centralised orientation through the cultural dictates may affect the development of one's personal efficacy. Therefore, it may be perhaps assumed that where the socio-cultural and religious situations foster certain amount of other directedness for any behaviour, the chances of personal efficacy developing among these groups of people are rather less.

In regard to dependence-porneness, it was found that the advantaged group in Madhya Pradesh was more dependence--prone than the disadvantaged, but it is on the reverse in Punjab. The mean differences are significant as revealed

by the 't' values. Between the two States, both the advantaged and disadvantaged groups of Madhya Pradesh are more dependence-prone than those of Punjab based on the magnitude of the mean scores. Dependence-proneness is a reflection of the locus of control in managing one's affairs in the social situation. In case social situation is such, where consultation and participation are encouraged for varieties of functions including familial and social, then it would perhaps foster the type of inter-dependency even in matters of personal nature. However, these results are contradictory to what was found in regard to personal efficacy where it was revealed that those who are personally efficacious are dependence-prone and *vice-versa*. We may perhaps say that personal efficacy and dependence-proneness may be independent of each other depending upon the context in which it manifests itself. The situations which encourage the individual to be efficacious may be different from those which influence him to be dependence-prone. This, to some extent, is reflected in the type of questions or situations used for assessing these dimensions touching upon the different spheres of human interaction.

In regard to fatalism, the disadvantaged groups have been found to be more fatalistic than the advantaged groups and the mean differences are significant as revealed by the 't' values. These results, by and large, conform with the results obtained in most of the studies in developing countries, where fatalism was found to be associated with the backward economies or people seeped in traditional prescriptions or proscriptions. Between the respondents in Punjab and Madhya Pradesh, it was found that in Punjab, both the advantaged and the disadvantaged groups were more fatalistic than those in Madhya Pradesh. In case, we conceive Punjab as an economically progressive State and most people have better economic returns from agriculture or industry, the higher fatalism among the advantaged in Punjab can only be explained as a reflection of their commitment to traditionalism which, to a large extent,fosters fatalism in terms of faith in powers beyond one's apprehension either for alleviation of one's suffering or to gain success.

In regard to the aspirations based on their ratings for different time dimensions in both the States, it was found that both the advantaged and disadvantaged groups in Punjab and Madhya Pradesh maintained a progressive rating from the past to the present and to the future except in the case of the advantaged groups in Madhya Pradesh where they rated the present as slightly less than the past. In other

words, we may say that regardless of being advantaged or disadvantaged, the direction of change was progressive among both these groups. However, the advantaged groups have the higher rating for each of the positions than the disadvantaged groups and the mean differences are significant as revealed by the 't' values. The Punjab respondents have given a higher rating for each of the time dimensions both among the advantaged and disadvantaged than those in Madhya Pradesh. In other words, the ratings of the past, present and the future of the advantaged and disadvantaged in Punjab are more progressive than those in Madhya Pradesh. In view of the obtaining economic status in Punjab in terms of improved productivity in agriculture or industry and the resulting income, the assessment of their life situation as perceived by them could be a reflection of this condition, which perhaps might be better than the economic conditions prevailing in Madhya Pradesh. It may be safe to say that as one's economic conditions improve, one's psychological appreciation of the conditions would be reflected in the resulting statement of one's aspirations for the future. This is one variable in which there is an indication, both among the advantaged and disadvantaged, of an aspiration for a better life in the future.

Conclusion

The disadvantaged groups were less personally efficacious, more dependence-prone except in Madhya Pradesh and more fatalistic in their behavioural dimensions, and have lesser assessment of their life situation and aspiration for the future. There were slight variations between the two states studied, where it was found that the respondents from Madhya Pradesh were more personally efficacious, more dependence-prone and less fatalistic and had lesser ratings in the different time dimensions in regard to subjective assessment of the life situation and aspirations for the future.

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18. MODERNIZATION OF RURAL INDUSTRIES--ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEMS IN PLANNING, ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

S·Sudalaimuthu

The process of modernizing the Indian rural communities--particularly, to a self-sustaining and a self-reliant state--has been the objective behind the planning process adopted by the nation since Independence. Rural industries sector is considered to be one of the tools to achieve the objective, because of its capacity to provide work opportunities in the place of their living. Presently, this sector is considered to be an instrument of social change attempting to improve the quality of their life. It is true that this sector has attained the objectives in a good measure and the role of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) in this direction is commendable. At the same time, it is not untrue that this sector is alive under artificial conditions, that is, with Government patronage in the form of subsidies and other concessions. This is because the capacity of this sector to provide continuous employment to the rural communi ties depends on how the products manufactured through this industry are received in the market. In other words, any problem in disposing of the products of this sector will naturally threaten the basic survival of the industry itself. Particular mention is made of this point because of what we see of the present market demand of this industry's products. This means that there is something wrong somewhere and an attempt has been made in this paper to study the various problems of rural industries sector in the areas of planning, organization and management.

Planning

The Government evolved a policy frame and the approach

to the development of rural industries sector has undergone some modifications from plan to plan. The main objectives of this sector are (i) providing employment on a dispersed basis (ii) adopting appropriate technology that can remove the drudgery of workers and increase quality and (iii) creation of a viable structure of this industry.

There is no dearth of committee reports and commissions for developing this sector and all these committees and commissions identified almost similar type of problems and recommended various measures such as reservation of spheres of production for rural industries, the non-expansion of the production capacity of a large-scale industry, arrangement for the supply of raw materials to rural industries, need to adopt intermediate technology, need for market intelligence department, training of salesmen etc. The recommendations make good reading but no mention is made regarding financial implications and feasibility of such proposals. As it is, it is doubtful whether any of the proposals could be put into practice unless the Government comes out with much larger subsidies and financial assistance. But an analysis of the Government financial assistance to this sector under various plans reveals that finances provided are inadequate. During the Second Plan the provision for khadi and village industries on public sector outlay was 1.8 per cent and it has gradually come down to 0.5 per cent in the Sixth Plan. This poor allocation naturally hampers the development of this sector. But it is to be mentioned here that various Committees on Khadi and Village Industries, in fact, have recommended the gradual reduction of subsidies to this industry. Perhaps, this suggestion is made to make this sector to be more independent and self-reliant. But the reality is that left to itself this sector cannot survive because of its inherent handicaps and stiff competition from the large scale organized sector. Hence, there is a strong case for more subsidies and preferential treatment of this sector. Hence, there is no question of economic viability, but it is the social objective of providing employment that counts.

Organization

The entire responsibility of organizing the rural industries is vested with the KVIC. The Commission implements its programmes through various institutional agencies namely State KVI Boards, Registered Institutions and Co-operative Societies. It provides financial, managerial and marketing assistance to agencies. Organizationally the rural industries sector is not able to attempt an effective production and marketing strategy because all the agencies under it function more or less independently as autonomous units. They have

their own production policies, brand names, distribution methods, pricing policies etc., with the result that none of them could create an effective impact on the market. This is the real problem facing the sector. It may be mentioned here that the KVIC which is the affiliating authority has powers of cancelling the affiliation and withdrawing the assistance of the erring agencies.

But this power is seldom used. On the other hand there is also a feeling among the registered institutions that they have to struggle to get financial assistance from the Commission and even if the assistance is sanctioned it is actually disbursed only at the end of the financial year, which makes the agencies difficult to utilise the amount effectively.

Another problem of this sector, as revealed during enquiry, is that these institutions do not get the required quantity and quality of raw materials at reasonable prices at the right time. It is true that there is an element of truth in this complaint and this certainly affects the prospects of rural industries. This is because the individual affiliated institutions are small and their requirements for raw materials are also small and so they are obliged to make local purchases through the local retailers. They buy what is available in the respective localities. It is not possible for the individual institutions to take the advantage of large scale buying. For this problem, the institutions suggest that the Commission should take up the responsibility of organizing centralised purchase and distribute raw materials to them.

Yet another problem is that the sector uses low level technology and as a result the productivity is low, quality is poor, cost of production is high and, above all, the production process in most cases exhausts the workers. The Commission is seized of this matter and efforts are being taken to devise and adopt intermediate technology that could increase the productivity and reduce the drudgery.

This industry also suffers due to personnel who lack initiative and enterprise. This may be because of lack of commitment and involvement in the organization and of faith in the philosophies of the rural industries programme. This is a real drawback. Of course, it is difficult to create commitment and involvement unless they come spontaneously.

Management

As discussed at the beginning, the problem of marketing is the crux of the problem in rural industries sector. Hence the discussion is mainly on marketing management.

Marketing is a problem faced by all business enterprises. In the case of rural industries sector the problem is acute. The reasons are many. The industry is scattered; the products are hand made and hence lack uniformity; the resources are limited; the managerial competence is poor; price is higher and the distribution and promotional methods are unscientific. These handicaps make this industry difficult to withstand competition from large scale business units. Hence, what is required is the modernization of marketing strategy to create a better and long standing impact of their products. Unless something definite and drastic is done in this direction this sector would find its survival difficult.

Marketing Research

The first principle of general marketing management is 'to know your market' and the second principle is 'tailor your product to the market'. This means that marketing research is a pre-requisite for successful marketing as it helps to find out consumer's prefernces, opinions, reactions etc. Unfortunately this aspect is completely neglected in rural industries sector. The working Group on KI sector has mentioned in its report that 'in the absence of market information, rural industries produce such articles that are not liked by the consumers and therefore have no market'. The same view has been expressed by the Expert Study on Home and Rural Industries also. On enquiry from affiliated institutions this was found to be true. The institutions have also stated that though they are all convinced of the need for the marketing research, they do not have the necessary physical facilities or financial capacity to undertake any marketing research. It would be too much to expect the affiliates to undertake any individual survey. Perhaps the KVIC could undertake certain centralised surveys. and the results communicated to the affiliates.

Quality Control

Quality Control is not taken very seriously by the rural industries sector. Each independent units adopt its own standards of production. Consequently there is no uniformity in the quality of products produced by different affiliates and in most cases the products of the same institution also vary in quality from time to time. It is true that the KVIC has made a beginning to correct the situation by sending an official to inspect the quality of the products. After all, how much can one officer do for the entire State in this regard? Further, Quality Testing Laboratories have also been set up in different places in the country. The affiliates are advised to test the quality of their products at these

laboratories. But it seems many institutions do not make use of these laboratories. Thus quality control, though essential, is not effectively administered under the existing conditions. Perhaps what could be done is to launch a serious campaign to impress upon the affiliates the need for maintaining certain standard of quality in their own interest and in the interest of the rural industries sector. A self-imposed quality control could be a better alternative in the present context.

Branding of products is also another area which needs improvement. At present, the various affiliated institutions adopt different brand names for similar products. For example, footwear produced by the various affiliates are branded differently such as 'Sarvodaya', 'Gramodaya', Charamsilpa', Gandhigram product (GGP), Village Industries Product (VIP) etc. What is required is adoption of uniform brand name for similar products. The KVIC has made a beginning in this direction and has selected the first common brand name 'Kutir' for toilet soap. Similar attempts can be made for other products too.

Similarly, the rural industries sector does not attach sufficient importance to packaging. Most of the products are shabbily packed in assorted papers. This would certainly be a disincentive for average consumers who are exposed to sophisticated packaging of established business units. Hence, needs correction.

Pricing

Pricing is a complicated matter in this sector. Because of the small scale and hand made production, low productivity and a statutory minimum wage to be paid to artisans, the price of the rural industries products is bound to be high. Further, the price for the same product varies from unit to unit resulting in unhealthy competition among the institutions themselves. The position becomes still worse when the same product is sold at different prices in the same place. This is not a desirable situation in the view of consumers when they face different prices for the same product at the same place.

Distribution

The existing practice of distribution of rural industries sector has a few limitations. The first problem is that the products are marketed through the retail outlets of the affiliates known differently as 'Khadikraft', 'Khadi Gramodyog Bhavan', 'Gandhigram Show Room', 'Gandhi Nirman Bhavan' etc. But from experience it is seen that the consuming public

get sufficiently confused and sometimes even suspect the genuineness of the products, because they are unaware of the fact that all these outlets are the outlets of the various affiliates of the KVIC.

The second problem of distribution according to working group report is that there are inadequate retail outlets and uneven market coverage in rural industries sector. Theoretically it is correct and the obvious answer is to open as many outlets as possible. But looking at the performance of the already existing outlets one would wonder whether such a step is really wise. Further, this would increase the financial burden of the KVIC. Hence, what could be done is that the affiliates could be encouraged to sell as many kinds of consumer articles as possible, even if they do not come under the purview of KVIC, depending on local demands. Another suggestion is to encourage the affiliates to use as many existing general channels as possible for selling their products along with their own retail outlets. Wherever possible home delivery through tri-wheelers may be tried in important localities. All these suggestions are followed by a few affiliates at present. This could be tried by all the affiliates more effectively.

Advertisement

The sales promotional activity adopted by the rural industries sector at present is far from satisfactory. The affiliated institutions adopt different methods of advertisement depending on their individual needs and capacity. Most of them do not have a regular advertisement policy with the result the advertisements are very irregular and consequently ineffective. The affiliates do not have a separate advertising budget and most of them stop the advertisements as soon as the budget provision is exhausted. Though all the units are convinced of the need for advertisements they do not advertise, perhaps, because of their limited resources. This is certainly a short sighted policy. KVIC is also issuing advertisements now and then. It would be better if advertisement is taken by the KVIC as a centralised function and the commis sion should set aside considerable amount so that advertisement could be issued frequently and effectively. Further, common retail outlet names and common brand names, as suggested earlier, would help to issue common advertisements and to create corporate image and brand image.

Salesmanship

The rural industries sector gives a poor account of itself in salesmanship. In fact, in most of the distribution centres

there is practically no salesmanship. This has been aptly indicated in working Group report also. There are various reasons for this state of affairs. Firstly, there is an obvious lack of initiative and enterprise on the part of the sales personnel. This may be because of lack of commitment and involvement in the organization. Secondly, there is lack of scientific selection and training of sales personnel.Of course one cannot expect scientific selection and training of sales personnel because most of the individual institutions are small requiring only limited number of sales personnel. However, they could select trained personnel from Khadi Gramodyog Training Institutes of Veerapandi and Madras.

Regarding remuneration, there is a feeling that the salesmen at the retail outlets of affiliates are not well off as their counterparts in the State Khadi Boards which have regular conditions of service as applicable to any other Government servants.

In general it is seen that almost all the accepted marketing practices are in some form or other adopted in rural industries sector. During the analysis and enquiry it was found that certain marketing practices like market research and quality control are not amenable for adoption in this sector where most of the affiliates function more or less independently. It is also found that this sector has failed to adopt certain possible marketing practices such as common brand name for similar products, centralised advertisement etc.

From the foregoing discussion it could be understood that though the sector has certain problems in the areas of Planning, Organization and Management, most of the problems could be overcome if the industry adopts certain modifications and a more pragmatic approach. The earlier it is done, the better:

Following are the potential areas of research in the rural industries sector:

1. Consumer opinion towards the rural industries products.
2. Evaluating the effectiveness of product design, brand names, packaging.
3. Evaluating the effectiveness of advertisement of KVI sector.
4. A study on the problems of raw materials in rural industries sector.
5. A cost study between the products marketed through own retail outlets and general channels.

19. "OPTING FOR THE APPROPRIATE"

V. Padmanabhan

Before discussing what technology is and how appropriate it could be for rural industries, it would be good if we understand what rural industries are. The very term 'rural industries' is location specific. However, mere location cannot classify an industry as rural in character. The oldest of organised industries i.e. textiles is located in the countryside. Similarly, most of the sugar factories have been established in typical rural setting. But they can never be termed as rural industries. Hence the second qualification for a rural industry should be its scale of operation. Scale does not mean the production of a particular industrial activity. The norm should be that its investment on productive assets should be within the reach of the beneficiary. Logically, it would mean involving large numbers in the production processes. Still another qualification very necessary in the context of the present problem of growing poverty and unemployment is that the technology adopted should be simple and suited to the millions of the so-called unskilled category existing in the villages.

There are other characteristics of a rural industry which may or may not be relevant in all cases. The theory that all rural industries should process materials available in the villages and produce goods for consumption in the rural areas may not always be practical. The most successful rural industries like cottage match-industry and foot-wear do not satisfy these conditions. The splints and veneers, the chemicals, the glue, the blue match paper, the labels etc., needed for the match industry cannot be produced in the area itself. Similarly, Agra which produces more than 50% of the handmade shoes in this country cannot be said to be self-sufficient in its raw materials and grindery requirement -- nor are these products sold locally. Hence, rural industries can be defined to satisfy only four main criteria: (1) location, (2) investment, (3) employment and (4) simple technology.

Having defined rural industries, let us now analyse technology. Technology has a wide meaning. It can include any innovation which has the ingredients of modernity in it. But if we have to identify technology in the context of rural industrialisation, the following should be the basis:

(a) Technology should intervene to reduce and, if possible, eliminate drudgery.

(b) Technology should be within the comprehension of the beneficiaries and suited to the rural situations existing in different parts of the country.

(c) Technology should be such that it must enable users to earn a living wage, interpreted as that comparable to the ruling agricultural wage in a particular area.

(d) Technology should improve skill, productivity and quality.

(e) Technology should utilize more and more of renewable sources of energy and less and less of depleting sources and maintain ecology.

(f) Technology should be within a per capita investment of Rs.15,000/-

(g) Technology should result in increased production and consequently additional employment, though it may, in the incidence, appear to throw people away from their present occupation.

(h) Technology in the final annotation should mean utilization of newer range of materials available in the countryside and production of essential by needed goods opening fresh avenues of employment for the large masses of unskilled labour.

(i) Technology does not begin and end with the improvement of tools, instruments, machines etc., but will also embrace techniques and diversification of production.

(j) Technology is a continuous process of experimentation and hencewill notremain static at any time.

The questions now are what do we mean by appropriate technology? And to whom should it be appropriate? Is it

to be appropriate to the area or the beneficiary or the problems of society? Seventy per cent (70%) of the villagers today depend on agriculture for their existence. The poverty syndrome can be transformed only when a large number of them shift from agriculture to non-farm occupations. Apart from that, the most crucial problem is the alleviation of poverty of the millions of people in the villages. The cause of poverty is the over-dependence of masses of people on agriculture, which provides occupation only for about five to six months in a year. Thus it is not a question of absolute poverty, but marginal poverty due to lack of occupation all the year round. To make this large section of people cross the poverty line, the occupation has to be such that could be undertaken as and when work in the farms gets dwindled. It should be a job that can be supplementary to agriculture. Prosperity of the country-side will be, therefore, possible only when at least 20% of the work-force available in the villages now shift to fulltime non-farm occupations and the balance 50% dependent on agriculture are provided supplementary employment at least for a minimum of 100 days in a year. Hence, appropriateness of technology has to lie within these two parameters.

The genius of Gandhi lay in suggesting hand-spinning as the most appropriate occupation for the millions particularly the women in the villages. Whosoever criticised him for this 'fad' has yet to suggest an equally potential area which can involve, if not millions, at least a few thousands, in continuous productive activity. Gandhi did not use the modern jargon like 'intermediate', 'alternate', 'appropriate', 'simple' or 'traditional' technology. But he answered the critics very powerfully as to why he objected to the use of machines:

> "What I object to is the *craze* for machinery, not machinery as such. The *craze* is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind, but for all. I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few, but in the hands of all. Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the back of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. It is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might".

> "The supreme consideration is man. The machine should not tend to make atrophied the limbs of men. For instance, I would make intelligent exceptions. Take the case of

the Singer Sewing Machine. It is one of the few useful things ever invented, and there is a romance about the device itself. Singer saw his wife labouring over the tedious process of sewing and seaming with her own hands, and simply out of his love for her he devised the sewing machine, in order to save her from unnecessary labour. He, however, saved not only her labour but also the labour of everyone who could purchase a sewing machine".

Today the challenge to science and technology is to get right inside the realm of appropriateness. Appropriateness should not always be equated with proficient or efficient technology. Its aim should be to reduce drudgery and increase the earnings of the artisans. In today's condition, particularly with the poor families, the drudgery which a woman faces has not yet been fully realised. One computation states that a lady in a poor family works for more than 14 hours a day. Apart from working as a paid labourer either in a farm or otherwise, she has to put in 6 to 7 hours more labour in cooking and in other household chores. The number of such women in India may run to several millions and crores. If something appropriate is not designed to reduce their strain and fatigue, science and technology will cease to be relevant or appropriate.

Nevertheless, technology can be designed only in a total frame-work of a plan. Developmental planning does not mean allocation of resources in money and men for different sectors. It is essential that each sector merges with the other to form a mosaic of beauty and harmony. Each segment while remaining separate for its own growth should get integrated into the entire circle of a total plan. Priorities should carefully be listed. Support -- both fiscal and political -- should sustain each sector as a valiant contributor to the economic and social development of the nation.

20. THE PROCESS AND EFFECTS OF MODERNIZATION IN A TRIBAL COMMUNITY

C.J. Mathew

Introduction

The process of modernization in India is that process by which this country becomes conscious of itself and of its processes, and of the kind of country that it is possible for it to become, and by which it finds or constructs the technical means for executing such choices as it consciously or unconsciously makes. Modernity in the world at large is the process of rendering feasible the gradual transformation of human life from what it has been into what we choose to make it. (Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Modernization of a Traditional Society, 1965, New Delhi) The term Modernization thus indicates change, development and progress; specifically, change in social, economic and political systems.

Modernization Defined

Modernization is defined as the use of inanimate resources for multiplication of human effort with manifold consequences for structural arrangements in an independent social system. Societies evolve from small-scale, traditional, kin-oriented and relatively undifferentiated units toward large scale industrial societies with a high degree of differentiation of organizations and roles. (Winberg, "The Problem of the Convergence of Industrial Societies". *Comparative Studies in Sociology and History*, Jan. 1969). Historically, modernization implies high structural differentiation, increasing social mobilization and a relatively enlarged, unified and centralised institutional setting. Modernization has steered traditional societies toward the reference model of the western social systems. (Eisenstadt S.N., *Transformation of Social Political and Cultural Orders in Modernization*, Boston, 1968, pp.256-257.) Modernity is sustained through industrialization, urbanization, emergence

and integration of market, large scale organization of firms, and a degree of self sustaining economic growth sufficient to increase production and consumption regularly. (Lerner D., "Modernization Social Aspects", *Encyclopaedia S.S.*, 1968, Vol. 10, p. 387.) The term modernization has replaced the earlier parochial terms, such as, westernization. The new term indicates more variegated focal points of cultural influence apart from the classical West, such as Japan and the Soviet Union. This multiform impact is relatively more mobile, competitive and intensive, thanks to mass media of communication which Lerner aptly designates as the mobility multiplier (K.C. & J. Panchanadikar, *Rural Organization in India*, 1978, Bombay pp.5-6).

Modernization process in India was initiated by the cultural contact with Britain especially since the latter half of the 18th century. Commercial penetration was closely followed by colonial conquests and consolidation both in the economic and political spheres. Since traditional social structures have provision for limited traditional function, there is need to identify a source of authority which will stimulate and organise institutions specialising in the range of functions necessary for a complex industrial system. Obviously under conditions of under-development such a centre of charisma could only be the national government (K.C.&J.Panchanadikar).

Modernization and Indian Villages

From time immemorial the village has been a basic and important unit in the organization of Indian social polity. It finds prominent mention in the classical texts of the land. For example, according to Rig Veda, generally dated in the latter half of the 2nd millennium B.C., society developed in a series of ascending formations, starting from the family *(Griha, Kula)* and gradually extended to the Village *(Grama)*, the class, the people *(Jana)* and the country *(rastra)*. The term *grama*, still largely used in India for village, denoted an aggregate of several families sharing the same habitation. (S.C. Dube, *Indian Village*, London, 1955) Any effort to understand the village without reference to its extensions in time and space in the social, cultural and ideological contexts is bound to be partial and incomplete.

The importance of studies of this type is greater at present because the country is undergoing significant technological changes, and it is essential to assess and evaluate their implications on the society in general.

Tribal Studies Necessary

Closer examination of literature on tribes reveals that several studies on tribes as such have been made in the past, whereas villages in which tribals live along with others have not been studied with the village as a unit.

No village in India is completely autonomous and independent, for it is always one unit in a wider social system and is a part of an organized political society. An individual is not a member of a village community alone, he also belongs to a caste, a religious group or a tribe with a wider territorial spread, comprising several villages.These units have their own organization, authority and sanctions. (S.C.Dube, *Indian Village*, London 1955). In tribal areas a strong village leader, irrespective of his ethnic affiliation, may act as a powerful innovator, and thereby bring about significant changes in the attitudes of the folk communities to the acceptance of new innovations. (Narayan Misra, *Cultural Persistence and Change*, 1978, New Delhi) The overall economic development found in the country since independence and the special modernizing efforts made by the various state governmetns through their respective tribal welfare departments and developmental work undertaken by the central government specially for the tribals, imply a greater amount of dynamism in their traditional societies.

Theoretical Frame Work

Modernization is a composite concept. The composite nature of this concept renders it pervasive in the vocabulary of social sciences and evokes its kinship with concepts like 'development', 'growth', 'evolution' and 'progress'.

The structural and existential issues in the modernization of societies, the changes in their material and technological conditions, modes of production, distribution of wealth and power, and relative deprivation of classes and sections of people in a society -- all these processes tend to have a fit on a calculus of meaning that is ideological.

Marxism and capitalism are two dominant ideologies of our time which outline two ends of a continuum on which a multitude of variations of ideological themes of modernization have been formulated. Modernization in the Third World nations is not only a means of economic and social development but also a process for the projection of their cultural self consciousness and national identity. The ideology of modernization which appeals to these nations is sharpened

by the sense of history, the background of colonialism and the constant threat of neo-colonialism. The capitalist ideology of modernization, being devoid of the base in history and being doubly initiated by the role capitalism plays in the expansion of the metropolis and the exploitation of the colonies, does not appeal to the intelligentsia and elite of these nations and is highly suspect. The Marxist ideology has comparatively greater appeal but only its reformulated and innovative form, a form which conforms with the national cultural ethos. Hence Marxism as modernizing ideology in most Third World nations provides a canopy under which, along with some of its essential principles, a lot of local cultural, symbolic and emotional urges could be sheltered for self-assertion of national identity.

The basic problem of modernization in the Third World nations is ideological. The processes of economic growth, expansion of science and technology and changes in the social structure commensurate with demands for social and economic growth are its essential components; but what looms large over these processes is the principle of valuation and symbolization of these instrumentalities of change in conformity with the national ethos. Modernization thus becomes a value-loaded term because its main challenge lies in the discovery of a relevant ideology. The relevance is determined not merely by the gross national output or the material indicators of modernization, i.e. standard of living, the rate of economic growth and the rate of expansion of science and technology in various modes of activities...., and other formal structures, but also by the manner in which these harmonize with the past history and cultural tradition and are evocative of its symbols. The urge for modernity is co-mingled with the urge for identity. This problem becomes central when we examine the modernization ideology in India. (Yogendra Singh, *Essays on Modernization in India*, 1978, New Delhi) Tradition and modernity are better viewed as continuous, and related in dialectic rather than dichotomous terms.

The Tribal Colony Setting

Attathodu tribal colony is on the northern slope of the Nilackal hills about 50 km. east of Ranni town, which is the taluk headquarters. Main road (west-east) leading to Sabarimala hills, which is a famous pilgrim centre on the high ranges, cuts the Nilackal hills into two halves. The mountains on the southern side of the road are planted with rubber trees by the Farming Corporation of Kerala. The northern strip, about 3 km. long and 1 km. wide, forms the Attathodu

colony. A tributary of river Pampa flows east-west by the northern side of the colony. The total extent of land comprising the colony, is 75 hectares.

The forested hills of that part of Kerala, which constituted the one time princely state of Travancore, are the homes of a number of tribes, some of whom are traditionally food-gatherers, for instance the Malampandaram, while others are primitive shifting cultivators. Today the area still open for this type of occupation is less and the destruction of forests through more intensive cultivation by the immigrants from the plains, has deprived many aboriginals of their traditional means of livelihood.

Objectives

The main objective of the study is to acquire personal knowledge about various issues concerning the tribals, especially in the wake of the implementation of the various developmental programmes by the government. The following are the specific issues probed in the study:

1. Did the tribals in the colony remain at a tribal stage of social evolution or have they become subjected to the irresistible force of modernization (acculturation)?

2. If so, what are the forms of contact, how did they fare in history and what is their present status and condition?

3. What is their future in the context of the objectives laid down in the constitution, and planned economic development launched by the Central and State governments?

Of all these questions, the question of their present status and condition and the objectives laid down in the constitution, and planned economic development launched by the government became the focal point during the study. This was the thrust we acquired at the request of the Director, Dept. of Tribal Welfare, kerala State, who wanted to make use of the study to assess their programmes and suggest measures for improvement.

Attathodu

In the year 1975-76, the Government of India cleared the forests in the Nilackal region to settle the hitherto wandering tribes such as the Malampandarams. Only 12 families of this tribe came to settle down here at the initial stage, with high hopes of a better life, while others preferred

to continue their nomadic or semi-nomadic life. At present, Attathodu is a conglomeration of five tribes, viz. Malaulladans, Malampandarams, Malayarayans, Malauralis and Malavedans. The tribe-wise distribution of the families living in this colony is given below:

1. Malaulladans	-	46
2. Malampandarams	-	25
3. Malayarayan	-	24
4. Malauralis	-	14
5. Malavedans	-	1
Total	-	110

In addition to this, many backward class people also have settled down here. Some of them have married tribals and there is also intermixing of members belonging to different tribes.

Methodology

The method adopted for the study was a combination of descriptive and diagnostic methods. Descriptive in the sense, an attempt was made to get as much information as possible about the social structure, economic organization, religious beliefs and practices etc. Diagnostic in the sense, that an attempt was made to understand how far the developmental measures launched by the government helped the people, and what are the main causes for the success or failure of these programmes. Given the limited time and resources, only two kinds of techniques were adopted, namely observation and interview.

In this context it must be mentioned that we had to face some serious difficulties in the investigation procedure. Tribes in this area are dispersed and we had to spend a good deal of time in walking the distance between the houses. Moreover, the attention being focussed on the assessment of the government development programmes and that too necessarily requiring contact with almost every family, we had to hurry through the investigation. All the same, efforts were made to make the study as scientific and representative as possible.

Social Structure

The tribes at Attathodu are not clustered but dispersed in the location. Even in such dispersal, only the Malaulladans are found to occupy a particular area.

Age and sex grouping, which is the traditional pattern of a tribe, is totally absent in these tribes. Owing to the modern political process, the young men have formed themselves into a group and got affiliated to the Federation of Girijans, a state-wide organization. As regards the kinship relationship, it was discovered, especially among theMalauralis, that they have their relatives in many similar settlemetns, quite far off. Theyinform each other on occasions of important family functions such as marriage, death etc., and participate in them. As regards their marriage practice, the Malampandarams seem to be strictly endogamous, whereas the Malauralis are quite flexible. They have no difficulty in making alliances with any other tribe whom they find fit enough. The marriage is not a religious ceremony but a social contract. In the presence of the elders, the parents of the bridegroom request the parents of the bride to give the girl in marriage. With that formal request the girl is sent with the boy. While this is the case with the Malayarayans, we came across different situations with regard to Malaulladans. They have the custom of giving dowry according to their ability. All the tribes follow patrilineal inheritence system. As far as the question of stratification, is concerned it appears that there is no social stratification in the traditional sense. The occasion of group interaction is so rare that the practice of stratification is non-existent. There are also instances of Harijans marrying tribal girls and settling down in the colony.

Economic Organization and Material Culture

Process of production or occupation becomes the basis of economic organization of any society. The tribes under study have moved far from their original traits that they no longer move freely in the forest which was once their abode. The tribes had communal ownership of land at first, but now the government have settled them in a colony, evacuating them from their original forest abode by offering each family five acres of land. Thus the concept of private property, the hall-mark of the capitalistic structure, has been inculcated in them. They cultivate this piece of land with primitive means of production, such as spade, axe, sickle etc. They usually cultivate tapioca and plantain. Rice their staple food, is a commodity to be bought from the market. As the land area is sloping and soil erosion is a common problem, paddy is not cultivated.

Obviously the meagre produce from their land cannot keep them even at the subsistence level. Therefore, they are engaged in other occupations like work in the State

Farming Corporation, road construction, bamboo cutting etc. These are seasonal occupations. Wage for road construction work is Rs.20/- per day per person. Thus, labour relations built on the monetary system have thrown their original economic system overboard. It has also affected their cultural life in the sense that because of cash in their hands they have become consumers in the open market. Their needs have multiplied. Men wear shirt and lungi and women blouse and lungi. They wear ornaments also.

As sizable sections of these tribes have taken to bootlegging as a means of livelihood, they have a roaring business especially when devotees of Lord Ayyappa return home from their Sabarimala pilgrimage. During the investigation, some indications pertaining to the practice of prostitution by Malayaraya women were noticed. Later it was confirmed that this practice has crept into their culture on economic considerations.

Traditional Occupation and Exploitation

As in the case of most other tribes the original occupations of these tribes were honey extraction, preparation of herbal medicines, hunting etc. Though many have abandoned these occupations, there are still some who are carrying on these occupations. Here again they are subjected to merciless exploitation by the outsiders. The government in its effort to check wanton destruction of the forests have restricted the movements of the people, thereby demanding them to possess a 'pass', which is issued by the government, to enter the reserve forest. This regulation throws ample chance for ardent exploiters, i.e. the contractors (as they are called by the tribals) who collect the passes from the government and issue them to the tribals. While issuing them they demand that the extracted honey should be sold to them for Rs.10/- per kilogram which they later sell for Rs.25/- per kilogram.

Political Structure

The community has a Head known as 'Kanikkar'. His hold over the tribe is not as strong as was normally the case with the traditional Kanikkar, because there are other forces that have come to operate in the lives of the tribals. Because of the government control over them, the power relations extend beyond the Kanikkar. The other forces and authorities are the political parties that vie with one another to win their votes. Some tribals have joined trade unions like the C.I.T.U. Thus their political organization has broken

the traditional political autonomy and attitudes. Majority of the tribals are so politicised that they have lost all hopes in traditional political parties and hence they are mentally prepared to think in terms of an alternative. The fast growing Girijan Federation among the tribals is a clear indication of this growing awareness. With all these, the traditional authority of the Kanikkars is almost ignored.

Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh

Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (R.S.S.) is another force that is at work in this area. This group started functioning here in the wake of the much publicised 'Nilackal issue'. At Nilackal, the place which is close to the Attathodu settlement, the Christians claimed to have found a cross belonging to the time of St. Thomas and wanted to put up a church there. The Hindus, instigated by the R.S.S., objected to that move. Thus these two communities were in conflict over a long period of time extending to several months. Thus the R.S.S. which came into this area has been active in creating a Hindu consciousness among the tribes. But the tribes, of late, are rather discontented with the ideas, attitudes and particularly, the activities of the R.S.S.

By way of suggestion it is recommended to the government that it should protect the tribals from religious fanaticism as much as it is concerned with proselytization.

Religious and Cultural Structure

Tribals are said to have their own religious beliefs and practices. Here again one notices the process of modernization among these tribes. At Attathodu, with in a distance of about 10 km; there is a temple known as 'Palliyarakavudevi temple' or 'Kshetram' as they call it. The tribals frequent this place where a residential *poojari* offers *puja*. The worship is in the sanskritized form. Secondly, sabarimala, the well known temple of *Swami Ayyappa*, lies in the vicinity. Lakhs of devotees who trek to this temple on foot along the colony have influenced them.

Developmental Work by the Government

According to the report of the Department of Tribal Welfare, grant for house construction seems to be the major scheme implemented so far. Initially an amount of Rs.3000/- was distributed for the construction of a house. Of late, taking into account the rise in the cost of building materials, it has been raised to Rs.6000/-. In 1984-85, under the sectoral

scheme several developmental programmes were implemented. It also aimed at agricultural development. It included supply of coconut seedling to the tribals. Grant of Rs.250/- for buying goats, putting up goat-sheds, *Balawadis*, etc., are other activities taken up. The Tribal Welfare Department was instrumental in organizing a Harijan -- Girijan Co-operative Society. Agricultural implements like axe, pick-axe, sickle etc., were supplied. For children in the balawadis, Rs.20/- per head per year is spent on dress. In order to promote interest in the children to attend classes, Rs.16/- is given to parents of the children as incentive. Technical worker's settlement grant is yet another scheme which gives a grant of Rs.250/- per head for self-employment. Tribal hostel is another project.

The various developmental activities can be broadly divided into two heads viz., individual-oriented activities like housing grant, grant for purchase of goats, setting up tailoring unit etc., and community-oriented activities like *Balawadi*, hostels, laying of roads etc. As regards the individual -oriented programmes, only the supply of coconut seedling and agricultural implements has reached the people to a satisfactory level. The housing scheme has been through a bad time. Under this scheme twelve houses were constructed of which two have already collapsed. The rest are loosing shape. The construction which has been generally undertaken by the 'nominee' has been done haphazardly.

Except Malayarayans, the rest of our respondents were not in the know of the availability of many of these grants, nor have they made use of several of these grants. As regards the community-oriented programmes, the *Balawadi* is well made use of. The tribal hostel is also in good form. While looking at the usefulness of the programmes, we could notice certain drawbacks at two levels: one, at the level of executing the programmes and the other, at the conception of the programme itself.

At the level of executing the development schemes, the nominees have used sub-standard materials for the houses constructed. Consequently, some of the houses collapsed and some are on the verge of collapse. It is true that rearing goat is an easy job in the hilly regions, where there is no problem of fodder. But here it was a total failure. For some reason or other the people are not in the know of many of the schemes initiated, till now. Even the schemes which have reached the people so far have carried out through some middle men. The presence of such middle men may be either due to inadequate infrastructure to carry these

programmes to the people straight or the inability of the existing infrastructure to do the same.

Conclusion

Increased transportation and communication facilities in the hilly regions of the State due to several modernizing processes initiated at the instance of the government, like clearing forests for plantations, exposed many tribals to the main stream of the population. Moreover, the policy of the government in constructing colonies for the tribals evicted from the catchment area of several hydro-electric projects in the State has paved the way for puttingup houses in an intermixed manner by various tribes, thus bringing about further chances for cultural contact resulting in acculturation very often.

Change from the original forest habitat to newly developing areas subsequently necessitated change in their original occupational pattern. The hitherto wandering tribes, preoccupied with food gathering and hunting, have taken to cultivation, since the government have allotted them about five acres of land either adjacent to their house or in close proximity. Compared to the pattern of land holding in rural Kerala, the area of land in the possession of tribal families in the colony is reasonably high. Unfamiliar to agricultural work until now, many of them have sportively adjusted to the new occupation and have shown a desire to own more land; probably, they have found an ideal type among the encroachers in the forest, who hail from the plains, very often patronised by political parties. It is noteworthy here that they have not fully freed themselves from their traditional lazy nature, as a result of which we have noticed a strong tendency among a few persons to dispose of their land for minor considerations of money or other materials benefits. We have identified about 15 persons who are interested in availing themselves of the loans under I.R.D.P. scheme for self employment, like opening up teashops, panshops, petty trade, setting up tailoring units, etc., thus evidencing the fact that they move along with the main current of modernization.

The fact that out of the total 110 families in the region, 12 have already availed of the housing facilities offered by the government, clearly indicates that modernity is spreading in the colony. A two-roomed tiled tenement with a kitchen and open veranda is definitely a change from the traditional mode of house construction. The remaining heads of households are also interested in availing this facility. But due to the

inadequate allotment under this project their names remain in the long waiting list. Preparation of food in aluminium vessels and with the usual condiments used by the plains folk, has now become popular among the tribals here. Changing from eating roots and shoots to cooked rice is in line with modernization.

As other labourers elsewhere, the tribals in the colony are quite aware of money wages and modern modes of transaction and consumption. *Amul* milk powder is regularly used by more than 30% of the families under study not only to feed the infants but also to add flavour to their morning coffee. When found outside the colony, in the market place, it is very difficult to distinguish the Malayaraya women from the rest, as they have taken to the modern style of dressing and due to their fair complexion and reasonably good facial features.

The *Balawadi* run in the community, totally subsidized by the Tribal Welfare Department, is staffed by tribal women and attended regularly by as many as 35 children. About 15 children from the colony reside in the tribal hostel some 40 km. away, and prosecute the middle or high school education. This is a clear indication of their awareness that education is the main source which they can depend upon in furthering their developmental interests. When asked about their ambitions, many of the elders tended to be fatalistic regarding themselves, whereas they were hopeful of their children benefiting from formal education and consider it as a passport for various government jobs. The high percentage of literacy in the state also had its affect on this matter.

The youngsters among the tribals becoming conscious of the need for organizing themselves under. the banner of the Girijan Federation is the result of the influence of the media. About 40% of the families own a pocket transistor and are eager to listen to the 6-15 p.m. local news broadcast. The influence of communal forces in politics in Kerala, by organizing political parties, and working as a pressure group in political administration, seems to have motivated the tribals here also to strengthen their federation, to bargain later on, for their piece of cake in administration.

Through a transition from tradition to modernity, often by accepting new traits of culture and occasionally dropping many of the defunct traits of the traditional culture, the tribals at Attathodu are marching towards growth and development. Further studies should be made in this area by using

sophisticated sociological and statistical techniques to arrive at more impressive quantitative data than the qualitative ones presented in this paper and to test whether dialectics operates in tribal communities or not in the process of modernization.

21. CHANGING PATTERNS OF TRIBAL HABITATS

T.S.Natarajan

The Nilgiri Hills were inhabited by the Todas, Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, Irulars, Kattunayakans and Paniyans, even before the advent of the Britishers. These communities were linked with each other in an exchange relationship (Mandelbaum, 1941). But they lived in their particular localities with their own mode of living, occupation and language. The Todas were a pastoral community and depended on their dairy products and led an exclusive life on the higher altitude of the hills. The Badagas were the agriculturists, who grew food crops and occupied the lands on a slightly lower altitude, suitable for cultivation. The Kotas were the master craftsmen, living in almost the same altitude as that of the Badagas, producing the agricultural implements, pottery and jewellery for themselves as well as for others in the hills. They were also the musicians for the Badagas and Todas during their ceremonies. The Kurumbas and Irulars occupied the middle and lower belts of the hills and subsisted on food gathering, hunting and shifting cultivation and also exchanged goods and services. The Todas supplied dairy products to the Badagas, Kotas and occasionally to the Irulars, in return for the agricultural produce and gifts they got from the Kotas and Badagas. The Kurumbas were the official sorcerers for all the three tribes, and served as guards for the Badaga villages. The Kattunayakans, Mullu Kurumbas and Paniyans lived in the Wynad area, leading exclusive on life depending on the natural resources available around them.

Thus each community preferred to settle down in habitats which offered them relative advantages of location both in relation to their need from the natural resources and their native skills. They were living in harmony with nature and neighbouring communities, until the arrival of the Badagas from Mysore who had to expand their habitation due to the necessity of their larger population which was also eventually

normalised. At that time these communities were not competing with each other as the life supporting resource base was in abundance. The natural life supporting resource base was gradually disturbed with the arrival of the Britishers into the hills with their colonial control and production system, with the vested interest of developing the hills as a health resort for the European military pensioners and invalids. The exchange relationship started breaking down and a new order of economic exploitation began to take place. The inflow of the people from the plains increased, consequent on the laying of roads to the hills. The non-natives from the plains came to the hills with commercial motives and thereby those who were the only inhabitants of the hills became minorities and marginal, forming 4.0% of the total population in the hills, as per 1941 census (Misra 1984). The hill people resorted to the defence mechanism of withdrawal. They were labelled as 'tribals' based on their socio-economic condition and primitiveness.

Consequent to the freedom from the British rule, a new social order with the philosophical base of establishing a socialistic pattern of society was started. The word *tribe* turned out to be a political concept: its membership rests with the administratively determined criteria with the objective of uplifting the backward communities to a better standard of living in consonance with the constitutional provisions of the country (Singh 1982).

The Government has initiated, as part of the tribal development programmes, modern house construction projects in the tribal settlements in a phased manner from 1958. Loan-cum-subsidy for house construction was granted to individual families in the initial stage, followed by the construction of linear type of pucca buildings with five portions in each such building. Now the Tamil Nadu Harijan Housing Development Corporation is constructing comprehensive colony type of buildings with all facilities in the same village or in new sites acquired for the tribals. The general approach to such programmes is to decide on the particular tribal settlements that will be benefitted based on the criteria laid down by the Government, irrespective of the felt needs of the tribes selected for such programmes. Housing being one of the basic needs of every community, the Government gives priority for this scheme and takes it for granted that this will be one of the needs as perceived by the tribals. The proposal for tribal welfare schemes is initiated by the District Adi Dravidar and Tribal Development Officer, within the framework of the overall national policy for tribal develop ment. This office had prepared Project Reports for the develop ment of each tribe in the Nilgiri District -- which includes *inter alia* Housing Schemes also.

With this background in mind, a study on tribal habitats of Nilgiri District was undertaken with the objectives of mapping out the present state of the habitats, continuity and change in the settlement pattern in terms of their structure, and compatibility of the modern house to the physical and cultural milieu of the tribal groups. Two settlements of each tribe, one comparatively more accessible to the modern system and another remote from such influence, were taken up as sample villages for detailed description of the physical structure of the settlement in general and the housing pattern in particular.

The study reveals that there is dramatic change in the overall life-styles of the tribes from the traditional way of living. The ethnographic notes on the tribes of Nilgiris by the early European writers have become outdated and there are gaps in the information in the later writings too, calling for fresh appraisal. None of the tribes in Nilgiris can be now described as pure 'hunters and food gatherers', 'shifting cultivators', 'pastoral people', 'master craftsmen' etc. The tribal settlements are no longer physically inaccessible, consequent on the laying of roads and the introduction of modern communication system. In the wake of massive development programmes of the Government and the restrictions on the utilization of natural resources by the Government in general and Forest Department in particular, the tribal scene is fast changing and drifting away from its dependence on the natural life supporting system. In this process of change, some of the tribes like the Kotas, Mullu Kurumbas, Irulars and Todas are moving towards better living standards, while the other tribes like the Kurumbas, Kattunayakans and Paniyans are lagging behind.

The Specific changes in the individual tribes are as follows:

1. The Todas' traditional dependence on dairy products has been reduced considerably giving place to the gradual emergence of a market economy. They were living in the traditional semi-barrel shaped huts, constructed by them with locally available materials. According to the Government rules concerning the use of 'Todas patta lands' by Todas, they were permitted to construct only traditional types of houses and temples for their use. Some of the Todas have started constructing modern pucca houses on their own, from 1941 onwards, and a number of such cases were brought to the notice of the authorities in course of time. The Government not only modified the rules accordingly, but encouraged such efforts. As a result, with the exception

of two settlements, the housing pattern in terms of its structure, materials used and mode of construction has changed completely with the construction of pucca modern houses. However, the structural change has not modified their living pattern in the modern houses.

The Government changed the rules pertaining to the construction of modern houses in the 'Toda patta lands' on the ground that the traditional type of houses were found to be in the midst of unhealthy conditions without adequate space, ventilation etc. Although the houses have been constructed on modern lines, yet the unhealthy conditions continue to exist. The impact of modern houses on the life-styles of the tribal people in general and their health status in particular needs to be studied in-depth.

2. The Kotas were the traditional master craftsmen who made agricultural implements, mud pots and jewelleries for themselves and for other tribes. In order to encourage them in this line, the Government initiated a number of schemes to improve their economic condition by starting a training centre for Pottery, Toy making unit, and supplied equipments required for their black-smithy workshops etc. But now, the Kotas' traditional craftsmanship is almost on the verge of extinction. They are marching ahead by getting employment in the public services in the Central Government, State Government and banks. In all the seven settlements, the houses have been transformed into pucca houses forming a particular unique linear pattern of their own choice and by their own efforts, long before the Government's schemes were initiated for modern house construction in the tribal areas. The deviation from the traditional linear pattern initiated by theTamil NaduHarijan Housing and Develop ment Corporation was resented by the Kotas and representations were made to the District Collector againt this deviation. The programmes based on their traditional craftsmanship need to be reviewed and reoriented to meet their needs and aspirations.

3. The Irulars were one of the most backward tribes in the district. This situation is fast changing in the Irulars' settlements in the Kotagiri taluk, because of employment opportunities in the plantations that bring them regular wages. It is found that the remoteness of the settlement from the modern system has little to do with the adoption of modern houses. Here, the initiative came from the community itself and they are moving towards transforming their housing pattern by their own efforts, but with the assistance of the Government.

4. The Mullu Kurumbas are listed along with the Kurumbas of Nilgiri but are a distinct tribal group with an entirely different mode of living. Their housing and settlement pattern continues to remain the same with unique agglomerate cluster of traditional houses well-adapted to the weather conditions prevailing in the area. The educational status in the sample settlements studied works out to over 50% and their occupatinal status, with the employment in public services and personal cultivation, has improved. Their improvement in the field of agriculture, education and employment is commendable and shows their adapatability to the changing pattern of life of the modern society. Any change contemplated for their settlement pattern, particularly the construction of pucca houses, should take into consideration the present functional value of their traditional houses.

5. There is very little improvement in the socio-economic conditions of the Kattunayakans and they continue to remain backward. In addition, they suffer from identity crisis with that of the Kurumbas. They continue to live in their traditional houses in the midst of either Mullu Kurumbas or Paniyans and adopt the life-styles of the neighbouring groups. Their problems are acute and deserve the special attention of the Government.

6. The Kurumbas of Nilgiri District seem to have reservations about the name of the tribe listed by the Government and none of the Kurumbas in several of the settlements identify themselves as pure Kurumbas and preferred to report as Paḷ Kurumbas during the household enumeration. They were living on the edges of the plateau in the middle and lower belts of the hills. There was no initiative from within the group to modify their dwelling huts. However, there is rapid transformation in the housing pattern in a number of Kurumba settlements where Government has constructed colonies with comprehensive community utility facilities. But these house structures are not compatible with their life-styles. The result is that the Kurumba colony at Nedungalkombai is not well maintained and is in a very bad condition -- and the community utility facilities are in ruins. Atleast three families out of the thirtyfive have abandoned the houses alloted to them. There is an urgent need to attend to the maintenance needs of the buildings at Nedungalkombai before their further deterioration. The socio-economic programme directed towards their development does not appear to have produced much impact. So, the future programmes need to be made more compatible to the local conditions and tailored to suit their aspirations and felt needs.

7. The Paniyans are perhaps the single largest tribe in the Nilgiri Hills who live in widely scattered settlements in small groups in their traditional thatched huts, under condition oi object poverty. They have been working as bonded labourers and were subjected to exploitation by the land owners. Their problems are multifarious. About 481 Paniyans who were identified as bonded labourers were released from their masters and rehabilitated in the newly constructed comprehensive colonies with pucca concrete buildings. Lands to the extent of 563 acres were allotted to them for improving their socio-economic life. This and was reported to have been usurped by the neighbouring non-tribals and the Government is taking appropriate action. The development programmes directed towards them appear to be slow-moving. The alternatives provided to the bonded labourers in the Paniyan Rehabilitation colonies do not seem to be satisfactory as evidenced by the number of Paniyan families abandoning the houses in the colony and returning to their traditional system. This is indicated the unsuitability of the rehabilitation programme which is not efficiently implemented.

8. The physical structures and cultural practices pertaining to the 'little tradition' consisting of the traditional places of worship with simple natural structures and non descript deities continue to remain the same in all the settlements. But the Kotas and Irulars have adopted Hindu Gods and started visiting such Hindu temples, thereby following the religious practices of the 'Greater Hindu' culture. This trend of their trying to identify themselves with the main stream of the modern system may push the traditional system to the background even to the point of extinction. But there is a need to document the traditional cultural and religious practices before they are forgotten by the tribals themselves.

9. The Nilgiri Adhivasi Welfare Association, a voluntary organization with financial support from both Government and non-Government agencies has been implementing commendable programmes for the welfare of the tribals. They primarily concentrate on the medical and health care of the tribes through their satellite clinics located in the tribal settlements. They are also conducting Balawadies, Tribal Health Workers Training, financial assistance for house building, and recently a sericulture unit at Kolikarai as a pilot project. They initiate intervention based on the felt needs of the tribals and by their frequent and close contact with them through their periodical and planned visits to the tribal settlements mostly for meeting their health care needs. Their approach to tribal welfare appears to be appropriate and may be applied and extended beyond their present area of operation mostly confined to Kotagiri and Gudalore.

10. The tribal communities do not seem to have been involved at any stage, in development planning in general, and house construction schemes in particular, on the type and design of the houses suitable to them and in the process of construction. The lack of involvement brings about a number of follow-up problems like adaptability of the households to the new types of houses, lack of know-how in operating and using the facilities and maintaining the buildings for their longevity. Any programme that creates dependence on external resources in terms of men, money, materials and management will be short-sighted and bound to be a failure at some time or the other. Creating commitment by involvement, self reliance by selectivity and building up morale by motivation are critical and important.

Traditional social customs are relatively indifferent to the physical environment and social change may not be effected by modifying the material culture alone by additions or deletions, but should take into account the pre-existing and prevailing pattern of living and examine how far the modified pattern introduced is integrated into the traditional pattern (Forde 1957).

The study confirms that no unitary model for tribal development will suit all tribes. It should be tailored to meet the felt needs and aspirations of individual tribes.

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(iii) The tribal communities do not seem to have been involved at any stage, in development planning in general, and house construction schemes in particular, on the type and design of the houses suitable to them and in the process of construction. The lack of involvement brings about a number of follow-up problems like adaptability of the households to the new types of houses, lack of know-how in operating and using the facilities and maintaining the buildings for their longevity. Any programme that creates dependence on external resources in terms of men, money, materials and management will be short-sighted and bound to be a failure at some time or the other. Creating commitment by involvement, self reliance by selectivity and building up morale by motivation are critical and important.

Traditional social customs are relatively indifferent to the physical environment and social change may not be effected by modifying the material culture alone by additions or deletions, but should take into account the pre-existing and prevailing pattern of living and examine how far the modified pattern introduced is integrated into the traditional pattern (Forde 1977).

The study confirms that no unitary model for tribal development will suit all tribes. It should be tailored to meet the felt needs and aspirations of individual tribes.

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22. SOME ADMINISTRATIVE AND ORGANIZATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGE IN RURAL INDIA

S.Sivasubramaniyan

Any development plan has a spatial dimension in the sense that each duly established installation or activity requires a locational decision. The federal character of the Indian system has assured a significant place for state-by-state planning in the National Planning exercise and this focus on the States as geographical planning entities has been reinforced by studies of particular States' development capacities and requirements. In any case, in a democracy as regionally diverse as in India, it will be politically suicidal for national planners to be entirely impervious to regional differences, alleged inequities and differentiated demands. Comprehensive economic planning in India must be centralized for the sake of cohesiveness. But at the sametime it must also be considerably decentralized to broaden the opportunities for creative development decision making, to exploit the special insights and experience of those closest to local and particular industrial problems and to protect central planners from being overburdened and the channels of communication and command from being overloaded. In short, if planning cohesiveness requires centralization, planning vitality requires decentralization. The procedural formula for optimum planning, however, is not just to work a middle course between the two extremes. Rather, it is selectively to centralize functions where it is important to do so for reasons of cohesiveness and selectively to decentralize wherever it is desirable and feasible to do so on vitality grounds.

It may be pointed out here that the country's administrative system and tradition tend to discourage initiative and the location of large scale decision-making responsibility at lower administrative level. The career public service has been ingrained with a strong sense of hierarchy in which command flows clearly from larger jurisdiction to the smaller

and reputations are built upon one's ability to comply with superior authority and minimize overt local mistakes.

The Indian Administrative Service which mans most planning posts at the State levels extends as essentially the same service with common entrance requirements, training, performance standards, and the possibility of transfer and promotion throughout the central and state governments. This means that the professionally ingrained habit of administrative deference moves upwards without interruption from the state secretariats to New Delhi. Moreover, the strikingly large status gap between the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) and other officials has meant that most central or state administrators find it quite hard to imagine that the quality of non-IAS officials in smaller jurisdictions ever could be sufficient to warrant delegating substantial authority to them.

The essential difficulty with rural policy in India is its failure to adequately grasp a few organizational principles that loom up amidst all of the puzzling complexity of Indian countryside. One of these is the need for making optimum use of self-adjusting markets as organizational devices. The second is the need for a balanced, administratively integrated attack on agricultural and non-agricultural aspects of rural development problems. A third issue has to do with the size of the focal developmental unit, with a balance to be struck between the centralization and decentralization in Indian rural administration and with the appropriate relationship in the countryside with the grassroot institutions on the one hand, and on the other leadership injected from outside. Adverse criticisms of community development effort have been expressed here.

One of the most familiar complaints is that despite its announced determination to be well-rounded, community development has lacked functional balance in that it has achieved too little with respect to agricultural expansion. The programme has got too much into the hands of partisans of social uplift and has lost track of its economic base priorities.

The reason for this is that in the effort to achieve an integrated organization of the rural development effort, agricultural extension and promotion have slipped too much under the aegis of non-agricultural administrators. For the sepcialized agricultural services, although stemming from state, Food and Agricultural departments and through them the Ministry of Food & Agriculture at the central level,

are actually channelled to the cultivators at the local level through the established framework of community development blocks. The Block Development Officer (BDO), the chief administrator at that level is not only seldom an agricultural specialist himself; also, he reports not to the agricultural but to the general administrative and planning hierarchy at the district and state levels, which in turn reports on development policy issues not to the Ministry of Agriculture but to the Ministry of Community Development. Moreover, the agents for government's day to day contact with the cultivators are the multipurpose village level workers who do not have the time, stature and the trained knowledge to be effective in this role.

There is also a certain looseness in the texture of operations. The programme's administrative structure is cumbersome. The morale of its personnel, particularly at the lower echelons, is low. Quite often a sense of ineptness pervades the operations which seem bogged down in a web of bureaucratic routine. The programme's functionaries seem to be preoccupied with such a surfeit of detailed targeting,, quota setting and reporting that is with the result they have very little time to get on with their work.

The ultimate tactical problem of Indian rural policy is posed by the fact that throughout much of the Indian countryside grassroot political leadership is still largely the prerogative of those local social and economic elites that are instinctively resistant to change. The whole enterprise of rural development can be more promising to the extent that the venue of the effort be shifted to a new enlarged frame within which new activities and new institutions can be built in a fashion that minimizes that overt displacement of traditional village institutions and village leaders. At present, the block has simply been conceived of as a collection of villagers--as an administrative convenience for transmitting material and personnel between the state and the district on the one hand and operating units on the others. In a "centralized upward" scheme the block itself would become the primary operating unit. Its specialized services and personnel of course would reach its constituent groups and personnel who would continue to reside in villages. But instead of being an aggregation of developing villages, the block, per se, replete with the reinforced centre would be the community to be developed, of which traditional villages, in so far as they retain their identity, would become the neighbourhood components. At the same time, there is a need for "decentralization downward". The fact is there is very little discretionary authority at the lower echelons. Moreover,

there is a deep status cleavage between Indian Administrative Service personnel who usually have not been posted below the district level, and the rest of the Government service which have been left, among other things, to man local rural development posts. The result is an echelon of BDO's who have little or no scope for practising the imaginative, innovative local development programmes that their areas need. They are busied too much with detailed accounting upward and are obsequious in the deference to District Officials and are accorded little status by traditional leaders of their own communities and have very limited career horizons.

The dynamics of democractic rural development should suggest that the injection of most vigorous possible new leadership generously endowed with power, discretion and resources for creating inurtives into arbit other than and larger than the village in the rural development process. Moreover, the provision for strong leadership is entirely compatible with the evolution of the kind of local self determination that will suit the transformed rural society. For, not only would a new breed of greatly strengthened Block Development Officers be fully responsible to elected Government at State and National levels; also, from the beginning these officers would have to win the substantial consent of their local constituents to keep their programmes viable; their work inevitably would stimulate their organization of new local interest and emergence of new local leaders; and it would be their business not to abdicate to traditional village authorities but gradually to nurture the development of new representative bodies and home grown administrators at the block level.

The Indian Society is a 'dual society' in which an industrialising urban minority is drawing away from a stagnating traditionalist rural community. Much of the social structure, organization and traditional leadership in the villages is still highly resistant to rapid social and economic change and reforms have carried them only partly towards their intended target in most Indian States and appear to be gaining momentum. Despite disappointments, its impact cannot be underestimated. Millions of village Indians have become acquainted with the existence of vocabulary of the community development blocks, gram sevaks, agricultural extension workers and the rest. Many have had their initial encounter with co-operatives. Thousands of villages have acquired their first all-weather roads connecting them to the outside world. Thousands more have their first schools, community radios and other amenities.

Yet, the pattern of reform is still incomplete and does not go far enough. As one can see, the major problems of development are social and physical. There are substantive focussings on the things that people everywhere are longing for or would long for if they knew better the choices that might be theirs. Betterment of the living conditions is possible only if a country possesses techincal and administrative skills enough to implement plans and recommendations relating to its economic development and social progress. Therefore, high priority must be given to the specific training of the public employees. Although careful planning in advance can help clarify objectives and provide a measure against which performance can be judged, goals also must be evaluated in the light of programme experience. The experience of new undertakings has repeatedly shown that purposes change, or get well defined and sometimes illdefined with growth that there is seldom complete and specific agreement and understanding in advance and that the final definition of objective is affected only in performance itself. Highly competent professionals are scarce in most countries. Professional competence requires an insight in public Management and Administration, competence in performing the role of agent for change and a belief in mission. With the scope of governmental operations growing particularly in a developmental operation (For example IRDP programme), the government must be so organized that it can readily accommodate new responsibilities and agencies. A neat hierarchical pattern based on limited span of control may be exactly what should be avoided. Agencies for new activities must be given an independent or semi-independent status.

The role of the bureaucracy is always influenced by its relations with the electorate, the party system and the legislature. A literate citizenry, a vigorous party system and an active representative legislative body provide control over bureaucracy that an Administrator ignores at his risk. It is often said that bureaucracy is resistant to change. There is also an underlying distrust of the Government on the part of the masses. The citizen is apathetic to the Government, feeling that every one in it is out for himself and that he can expect little good to come from governmental action. Administrators, in turn, look down on the villages, visit them infrequently, and evidence little or no spirit of serving the people, and the human relations approach is lacking both within the bureaucracy and between the bureaucracy and the public. Social change itself is a major force for administrative change especially in the long run. Administrative change properly conceived can also further social and economic development. Therefore, fresh look at the

situation from the point of view of the maximum achievement of developmental goals, both short and long run, is called for. Political development goals should be considered in any review of development since community development efforts can be furthered by a tie-in with the conscious programme of social and political change. Change is most likely to be in the air when a country is pursuing broad programmes for development in several different fields. The tool that can provide impetus here is that industrialization which is a potent force for the modernization of the society; because industrialization brings pressures for better public service. The second is an educational programme that overcomes illiteracy opening up new horizons and values tovillagers and provides elementary and secondary schools for the boys and girls alike by releasing forces that will be determinative in evolving firm and continuing developmental policies and political support needed. Unfortunately, institutions of higher education have been slow to change their ways eventhough individual faculty members and student bodies have been in the forefront in demanding the policy changes.

Finally, the pressure of time is great and a country like India cannot spend a century or two in the slow evolution of new procedures and institutions. Perspective has a great deal to do with the judgements one reaches about what the priorities in rural development policy should be. For rural India is such a vast area with such vast needs that it must find within itself the great bulk of the real resources for meeting these needs. What can be injected from outside will be essentially catalysts, and no more. Given this perspective, it will be clear that rural development's top priorities must be reserved for programmes that promise directly and fairly quickly social change and progress.

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